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**ST. JOHN THE AUTHOR OF THE
FOURTH GOSPEL.**

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FOR

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ST. JOHN THE AUTHOR OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

BY

CHRISTOPH ERNST LUTHARDT,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT LEIPZIG ; AUTHOR OF 'APOLOGETIC LECTURES ON THE
"FUNDAMENTAL," "SAVING," AND "MORAL" TRUTHS OF CHRISTIANITY,' ETC.

Revised, Translated, and the Literature much Enlarged,

BY

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY,
LEIPZIG.

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**ST. JOHN THE AUTHOR OF THE
FOURTH GOSPEL.**

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE publishers asked me to prepare a new edition of my youthful work, *The Gospel of John* (*Das johanneische Evangelium*), C. Geiger, Nürnberg, 1852, 1853. I could not let it appear again without a discussion of the critical questions, which had been entirely omitted the first time. The treatment of these, however, when carried out with the completeness required by the present state of the subject, demanded more room than could be given to it in that work. Hence I determined to put it in this separate form, reserving only a short summary for the other book.

It would have been easy to make the work in hand much larger, but I wished to be as brief as possible without harm to the completeness. I thought it unnecessary to pursue at length inquiries that have been often followed up, or to attempt to confirm thoroughly things that are settled. Some scholars of late have begun, with particular zeal, to seek out in the fourth gospel traces of the use of other New Testament books, and to apply this to the Johannean question. It seemed to me enough to confine my attention to such references as I myself was able to find, namely, to the relation of John to the synoptists and to the Revelation. The other alleged cases of use do not strike me as bearing on the question touching John. Besides, the later time of composition of the respective books, which is assumed by that party, needs first to be surer than it

is. In the chapter on the relation of the synoptists to John, I have not entered into all the detailed historical differences and questions. That is rather the business of an exposition than of an introductory study like this, which must lay stress on the chief problem, and try to solve it. Moreover, the critical study of the separate questions has begun to receive a very thankworthy treatment from Beyschlag, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, 4tes Heft.

I owe particular thanks to Licentiate Dr. Adolf Harnack. He helped me faithfully in the proof-reading, and, in the chapter on Gnosticism, kindly put at my service his studies in that department, which not merely promise, but have already begun to yield, an actual furthering of historical knowledge.

What is still lacking in the literature will be made up by Mr. Gregory, a young American theologian, favourably known in America by his connection with Dr. Hodge's great work on *Systematic Theology*, when he carries out his plan of giving a complete literature of the gospel of John.

DR. LUTHARDT.

LEIPZIG, 1 August 1874.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

HAVING changed the literature so much that he must hold himself answerable for it in its present form, the translator is nevertheless aware that it is neither faultless nor complete, and will gladly receive corrections and additions, as well as any notes that may be of use in making the general literature.

LEIPZIG, 7 July 1875.

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ST. JOHN THE AUTHOR OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

CHAPTER I.

TRADITION.

THE inquiry as to the origin of the fourth gospel has of late been more and more clearly recognised as the weightiest in the realm of biblical criticism. It has, at the same time, assumed a place in the very centre of religious discussion, since the criticism of John's gospel affects closely our decision as to the person of Jesus Christ. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that this historical and critical inquiry should, on both sides, be conducted with a certain measure of party feeling, and that the inquirer's personal attitude towards his subject should to some extent influence the course and the issue of his researches.

Let us try to make the facts speak for themselves.

The Author.

Tradition with one voice names the apostle John as the author of the fourth gospel.

John (יוחנן; Jehovah is gracious), probably younger

than his brother James, whom Herod Agrippa, Acts xii. 2, beheaded in the year 44, was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman of some means, as is inferred from the mention of the 'hired servants,' Mark i. 20, living by the Sea of Galilee. Tradition says at Bethsaida, but that is not certain. His mother, Salome, appears, Matt. xx. 20 ff., among the followers of Jesus, is among the women who ministered to the support of Jesus, Matt. xxvii. 55 f., Mark xv. 40 f., and is one of those who prepare for the embalming of Jesus, Mark xvi. 1. John xix. 25 is commonly taken as referring to three women, but the Peshito puts an 'and' in, and hence Wieseler,¹ and after him Lücke, Ewald, and Meyer, count four. In this case the sister of the mother of Jesus is understood to be the mother of the evangelist, Salome, so that John would have been the first cousin of Jesus. This supposition, however, is not necessary to explain the near relation in which the gospel tells us that John stood to Jesus.

The pious disposition of the mother may have early awakened and nurtured the religious susceptibility in the heart of the boy. He appears throughout to be a man of active religious feeling. Hence, as the fourth gospel relates, we find him in the neighbourhood of and among the disciples of John the Baptist, at whose indirect command he turned towards Jesus and followed Him; for the nameless disciple, John i. 35 ff., is commonly understood to be John. We do not know how old he was then. Krenkel² supposes that 'nothing prevents our thinking that he was ten years younger than Jesus.' We know nothing about it, except that the ancient traditions, which have it that he lived to the time of Trajan (98-117), presuppose a youthful age at his joining himself to Jesus. He does not appear to have remained long in the company of Jesus at that time. At least, further on, we find him

again at his occupation as a fisherman on the Sea of Galilee, when Jesus called him and his brother to a constant following of Him, Matt. iv. 21 f., Mark i. 19 f., Luke v. 9 ff. These two brothers, with Simon Peter, formed that trio of disciples which stood nearest to Jesus. Jesus permitted them to accompany Him when He raised the daughter of Jairus, Mark v. 37, Luke viii. 51; they were the witnesses of His transfiguration on the mountain, Matt. xvii. 1, Mark ix. 2, Luke ix. 28; and of His agony in prayer in Gethsemane, Matt. xxvi. 37, Mark xiv. 33. This agrees also with the way in which the fourth gospel portrays him, as the most intimate disciple of Jesus, who lay on His breast at the last supper, who followed Him into the court of the high priest's palace, who stood under the cross, and to whom the dying One entrusted His mother. After that draught of fishes on the Sea of Galilee, chapter xxi., he is the first to recognise the Lord in the stranger upon the shore.

The gospel narrative and the book of Acts often connect him with Peter. The difference between the two is unmistakeable. In contrast with the hasty actor, the man of the instant, John is the contemplative man, living more in feeling than in outward action. And in contrast with the gift of the other to say the right word at the right time, he is the silent one. When he questions the Lord at the last supper, it is Peter that prompts him to ask; and when he follows the risen Saviour in silence, it is Peter who gives expression to the mute question that lay in this following. But at heart he stood nearest to Jesus. His calm, quiet soul had the deepest impression from the person of Jesus, and wrought it out in peace.

The strokes of outbursting vehemence which the first gospels relate of him fit easily into the picture of the melancholy one whom the fourth gospel delineates.

He forbade the one who drove out devils in the name of Jesus without following Jesus himself, thinking it an unfaithfulness towards the person of Jesus, Mark ix. 38 ff., Luke ix. 49 f. And he wished to call down fire upon that Samaritan place which refused to receive Jesus because he held to the Jews and not to the Samaritans. It is possible, or even probable, but not certain, that he and his brother were named 'Sons of Thunder' by Jesus from this occurrence. Even in these vehement utterances, love to Jesus was the moving soul; his nature only decided the form. The mother of the brothers sought for her two sons places of honour at the right hand and the left hand of Jesus in the kingdom of God, and John and James were ready to drink the cup allotted to Jesus Himself, Matt. xx. 20 ff. The spirit shown in this request cannot be called blameless, and the knowledge is faulty, but still even here an intimate personal relation to Jesus is presupposed.

We see how well the synoptists and John agree as to the lines of His portrait, and how easily the accounts fit each other, so that it was right to join them together from the first.

The book of Acts shows him to us in the company of Peter, both at Jerusalem, chapters iii. and iv., and in the visit to Samaria, chapter viii. When Paul comes to Jerusalem, about 50, to the so-called council of the apostles, Acts xv., Gal. ii., he is still there as one of the 'pillars' of Christendom, with Peter and James, the brother of the Lord. We do not know when he left Jerusalem. He is not mentioned at Paul's last stay there, Acts xxi. 17 ff.; but nothing can be argued from that. It is possible that in the rising tumults of the Jewish war, and in the approach of the judgment upon Jerusalem, he saw a summons to leave the Jewish territory. Ecclesiastical tradition, from

the close of the second century, with one voice names Asia Minor, and especially Ephesus, as the scene of John's later activity.

Various characteristic things are related of him during this residence at Ephesus. Irenæus³ tells of his meeting with the errorist Cerinthus in a bath at that city, and showing his vehement opposition to that 'enemy of the truth,' whom he would not be under the same roof with. Clement of Alexandria⁴ relates the story that Herder wrought up, about the youth who had fallen away, and whom the aged apostle brought back from the troop of robbers which he led. The anti-Montanistic author Apollonius,⁵ apparently from Asia Minor, and of the second century, recounts that John once raised a dead man at Ephesus. According to a widespread tradition (Clement of Alexandria and Origen, among others), the Roman emperor⁶ banished him to the island of Patmos. And Tertullian,⁷ who makes the banishment to be from Rome, mentions that John was previously dipped into boiling oil without being hurt. We see that tradition constantly loses itself more in legend. But Jerome⁸ has preserved a beautiful characteristic of the old man, so full of years. When, from the weakness of age, he could no longer walk, he had himself carried to the church meetings, and there ever repeated the one phrase, 'Little children, love one another.' At an advanced age, about the year 100, according to tradition, he died at Ephesus. At a later date his tomb was pointed out there.⁹

The Gospel.

Here, in Ephesus, according to Irenæus¹⁰ and Clement,¹¹ John wrote his gospel, after the synoptic ones.

Irenæus, having mentioned that first Matthew, and then Mark, and Luke, wrote, proceeds :¹² 'Then John, the disciple of the Lord, the one that lay upon His breast, himself too put forth the gospel while at Ephesus, in Asia.' John intended by this book to oppose the error of Cerinthus and of the Nicolaitanes, a branch of Gnosticism.¹³ According to Clement of Alexandria,¹⁴ John, at the call of his friends, and filled by the Holy Ghost, wrote the spiritual gospel, because he saw that the synoptists rather set forth merely the human side of Christ : 'John, then, the last, perceiving that the bodily things were made clear in the gospels, urged by his friends, and divinely led in spirit, prepared the spiritual gospel.' The Muratori Fragment describes that call more closely thus :¹⁵ 'When his fellow-disciples and bishops urged him, he said to them, Fast with me three days from to-day, and let us tell each other whatever may be revealed to each. In the same night it was revealed to Andrew the apostle, that, all giving their sanction, John should describe the whole in his own name.' The embellishment here can be easily seen. There is no need of following these testimonies any farther.

The accounts of the ancient church contain no closer determination of the time of the composition of the fourth gospel, save that it followed the first three, and took them into account. Epiphanius'¹⁶ assurance that John wrote the gospel under the Emperor Claudius, when he had returned from Patmos, and was ninety years old, deserves no consideration. Those church teachers who, like Irenæus, put the banishment of John to Patmos under Domitian, and think that he beheld and wrote down the visions of the Revelation there, naturally make the composition of the gospel earlier, perhaps about the year 80. Nothing certain can be said about this. Besides, the question

as to the Revelation would demand an examination for itself, and this we neither can nor need to enter into here. The tradition as to the gospel is independent of this inquiry. According to that, as we have seen, the apostle John composed the fourth gospel at Ephesus.

This very tradition, however, has lately become the object of active and varied opposition. And the critical party, especially as attaching itself to Baur's name, holds the action in the case to be already as good as closed, and the case lost for John.

¹ Wieseler, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, p. 648 ff.

² Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, Berlin, 1871, p. 129.

³ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. iii. 4; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 177.

⁴ Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives salutem consequi possit*, cap. 42; edit. Segarius, Utrecht, 1816, pp. 110, 113, 114. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxiii. 13-19; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv., 1871, pp. 110-112.

⁵ Apollonius in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* V. xviii. 14; *ut supra*, p. 224.

⁶ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, V. xxx. 3; *ut supra*, p. 330; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III. xviii. 4, and xx.; *ut supra*, pp. 105-107; and *Chronicorum Canonum quæ supersunt*, edit. A. Schœne, Berlin, 1866 (vol. ii. of *Eusebi Chronicorum Libri Duo*), pp. 160 Hx, 161 x; and Jerome, *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum seu de Viris Illustribus*, cap. ix.; edit. Cyprianus, Frankfort and Leipzig (1722), p. 33.

⁷ Tertullian, *De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum*, cap. xxxvi.; *Opera*, Leipzig, 1841, part iii. p. 25; *Bibl. Pat. Eccl. Lat. selecta*, vol. vi.

⁸ Jerome, *In Epistolam ad Galatas*, vi. 10; lib. iii.; *Opera*, edit. Vallarsius, Venice, 1769, vol. vii. part i. p. 529 a.

⁹ Dionysius in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII. xxv. 16; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv., 1871, p. 328.

¹⁰ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. i. 1; edit. Paris, 1710, p. 174.

¹¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* V. viii. 4; *ut supra*, p. 206.

¹² Ἐπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξίδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφίῳ τῆς Ἀσίας δια-
τρίβων.

¹³ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 1; *ut supra*, p. 188.

¹⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI. xiv. 7; *ut supra*, p. 258. Τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἴσχατον συνιδόντα, ὅτι τὰ σωματικά ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις διδῆλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορηθῆντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον.

¹⁵ *Canon Muratorianus*; edit. Tregelles, Oxford, 1867. Cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: conjejunate mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreæ ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Joannes suo nomine cuncta describeret.

¹⁶ Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, II. li. 12; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1860, vol. ii. p. 464.

CHAPTER II.

ST. JOHN'S AUTHORSHIP DISPUTED.¹

THE tradition of the ancient Church is harmonious. When the fourth gospel is mentioned, if not named as the work of the apostle, it is always supposed to be his. It did not appear in the Christian Church under any other name. Indeed, this name was its introduction to the Church. Had there ever been any hesitation as to this point, some trace of it would have been preserved; but none is found.

The Alogi.

The Alogi make the only exception. And yet, since even Zeller² has owned that they cannot be considered as witnesses to another tradition, it is hardly possible to appeal any longer to their attacks. They do not urge any other tradition, but merely reasons of subjective criticism. They cannot appeal to any insecurity or difference of tradition.³ Of course the simplest thing, could we do it, would be to follow Volkmar,⁴ and charge the rise of the Alogi to the confused fancy of Epiphanius. But though the name comes from Epiphanius, the thing does not. It is only necessary to read the big section which Epiphanius devotes to the Alogi to see what accurate knowledge he had of their doctrines. The said doctrines are far too particularly stated to be the inventions of fancy.

Besides, Philastrius⁵ speaks of heretics who denied that the gospel and the Revelation were John's, and who attributed them to Cerinthus; and that agrees with the account of Epiphanius.⁶ Lipsius⁷ has proved that Philastrius did not use Epiphanius, but that both went back to an older book as a common basis. Adolf Harnack⁸ agrees with Lipsius in this, but differs from Lipsius, and rightly, in extending this proof also to the Alogi. Whether, as these two make it probable, this foundation-book is the lost Syntagma of Hippolytus or not, we do not need to decide. It is enough for us that Hippolytus, according to the inscription on his statue,⁹ wrote a book 'on the gospel and Revelation according to John.' It appears that there was in his day a party that rejected the gospel and Revelation of John,—a party which Epiphanius and Philastrius describe more closely in the statement referred to. We can learn from Epiphanius on what grounds this party or sect rejected John's gospel. He quotes a series of objections that were then raised against it. It does not agree with the story of the synoptic gospels and their arrangement;¹⁰ and it contains false statements, the space of time for the public ministry of Jesus being especially incorrect.¹¹ The same thing seems to have been urged in respect to the day of Jesus' death in the gospel of John.¹² We see that these are simply grounds of internal and subjective criticism, and not reasons taken from tradition. Those reasons cannot have been the real ones. Epiphanius¹³ names them 'Alogi,' 'because they did not accept the Logos proclaimed by John.' They probably found this Logos also in the Revelation, though the arguments that they offer against this book were drawn from the figurative style of the visions. 'They said in scorn: What good can the Revelation of John do us, which speaks only of seven angels and of seven

trumpets?'¹⁴ Whether or not they rejected the epistles of John too cannot be certainly concluded from the expression used by Epiphanius.¹⁵ Were this the case, it would only be the more beyond question that the real ground of their literary criticism was their opposition to the Logos doctrine. According to all, they belonged to the Monarchian party; the question is, to what branch of it. Lipsius sees in them representatives of the Patripassian opposition to the Logos doctrine. His argument is, that Hippolytus stands in opposition to Praxeas, and hence that that book of Epiphanius was also written against this school.¹⁶ This is, however, a mere supposition, and proves nothing. Epiphanius characterizes them thus: 'I shall be right in naming them Alogi, since they reject the Word (Logos) of God, the paternal, divine Word that came from heaven, which John preached.'¹⁷ The sect of the Alogi denied 'the gospel according to John and the divine Logos in it, which "was in the beginning."¹⁸ This seems to fit dynamical rather than modal Monarchians. The same thing appears when Epiphanius¹⁹ declares that the design of the miracle at the marriage in Cana was, 'that He might show Himself to be God with the Father and with His Holy Spirit.' In his enumeration, Epiphanius puts the Alogi after the Quartodecimani, and Philastrius puts them after the Quartodecimani and the Chiliasts. If we could draw any conclusion from this order of succession, they would belong to the Judaizing sects, and so be more of an Ebionite or dynamical than of a Patripassian way of thinking. This would agree with the fact that Epiphanius designates Theodotus the tanner as an offshoot from them.²⁰ The spirit in which they seem to have contended against the doctrine of the Logos is this: it appeared to them that this doctrine was the means of bringing a

Gnosticizing speculation into the original simplicity of Christianity. They embraced a moderate intellectual tendency, which laid the chief weight on the moral side of Christianity. At least, this is the best way to explain their attack on the Revelation, whose visionary pictures they ridiculed because such things were of no use to the Christian.²¹ On this account they contrast the moderate synoptists with the Logos gospel. If Cerinthus was the representative of a Gnostic school of thought, as Irenæus describes him to us,²² that may well have led them to attribute John's books to him, since they wished to, or had to, let them remain in the time of John, and in Ephesus.

Irenæus also speaks of such as rejected the gospel of John.²³ 'Others, indeed, that they may frustrate the gift of the Spirit, which has of late been poured out upon the human race in harmony with the decree of the Father, do not admit that form in which, according to the gospel of John, the Lord promised to send the Paraclete; on the contrary, they reject both the gospel and the prophetic spirit. Unhappy men! who agree that there are false prophets, but reject the grace of prophecy from the Church; suffering like those who, on account of such as come hypocritically, refrain from communing with the brethren. It may be perceived that these men, also, do not accept Paul. For, in the epistle to the Corinthians, he speaks of gifts of prophecy, and knows of men and women who prophesy in the Church. Therefore in all these things they sin against the Spirit of God, and so fall into unpardonable sin.' The first question is, whether or not these are the same as the Alogi of Epiphanius. They agree with the latter in rejecting the gospel of John, and, like them, urge not external, historical, critical reasons, but reasons drawn from the contents. This is the difference: in Epiphanius they attack the Logos doctrine, here the

Paraclete or the prophetic spirit. But then in Epiphanius, also, their attack upon the Revelation is to be traced to their aversion to the 'prophetic spirit' (*spiritus propheticus*), at least in this form, which seemed to them barren. Moreover, in Epiphanius,²⁴ just as in Irenæus, they are brought into peculiar connection with the Montanists. Epiphanius had Irenæus' account before his eyes, or at any rate in his mind. We can see this clearly in the fact that both close their accounts with a reference to the sin against the Holy Ghost. Irenæus, it is true, does this because they are determined to know nothing of the Paraclete, and Epiphanius²⁵ because they contradict the express word of the Holy Ghost; yet, even in the latter, they are such as 'did not receive the Holy Ghost.'²⁶ The application of Christ's words in Epiphanius is rather forced, and so it may be the more easily traced back to Irenæus, where it fits better. We see that this party, to which Epiphanius gave the name Alogi, has passed through a history. In Irenæus' time, its relation to Montanism, which was making such a commotion in the Church, stood in the foreground. Hence the attack on the Paraclete came forward. In Epiphanius' time, this debate had lost its importance, since Montanism, especially in the eastern church, had retired, and the question of the Trinity stood in the foreground. The Montanists had been Trinitarians; the Alogi were Monarchians. And so, in spite of Volkmar's denial,²⁷ this party is the same that Irenæus means, though the debate here is on another point.

The opinion of Massuet, Grabe, and others²⁸ has lately begun to prevail. They think that Irenæus is here contending against Montanists. It seems to me, however, beyond question, that Irenæus has anti-Montanists in mind. Irenæus argues thus: It would be an unauthorized thing to withdraw from the communion

of the brethren because of the hypocrites, and it would be just as wrong—this is the necessary supplement—to reject the prophetic gifts on account of the abuses that are practised with them. Those who do reject these gifts come in conflict with Paul, who speaks expressly of these gifts in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and awards them to women as well as to men. We see from this that Irenæus dealt with men who, because of the abuses, rejected the prophetic gifts outright, and who, in order to take away the foundation from their opponents, would not have anything to do with the gospel in which the Paraclete is promised. So, too, they acknowledged the existence of false prophets, but would know nothing of the prophetic gifts in the Church. This is the sense of the much-discussed phrase: 'Unfortunate ones, who agree that there are false prophets, but reject prophetic grace from the Church.' It is not necessary to read 'nolunt' for 'volunt,' since 'volunt' is equivalent to 'statuunt' or 'dicunt.' It would be well, however, with Ols-hausen, to read 'pseudoprophetas' for 'pseudoprophetæ:' they war against the false prophets of the Montanists, and so actually acknowledge ('volunt') their existence. It is certainly a forced explanation to say that Irenæus calls these very men false prophets, 'because they taught the opposite of what the gospel teaches.'²⁹

Hence it was only one party, not various parties, that rejected the gospel of John. Harnack³⁰ mistakenly admits two parties, Montanists and Monarchians, and therefore speaks of a 'history of the struggle in the Church about the gospel of John.' Nor is this party, as Lipsius³¹ thinks, one that 'scientifically was anything but to be despised.' Epiphanius says expressly, at the end of his discussion, that they are not very dangerous. He compares them to

vermin whose poison has little strength (ὀλίγον μὲν τῇ δυνάμει); therefore they were of small importance. He refutes them at length only because he uses their opposition to the gospel of John so as to impart his own views and researches with regard to the agreement of the gospel accounts. The arguments which that party urged against the fourth gospel are not taken from tradition, but, as we have already said, belong merely to the sphere of internal criticism. Had there been any other tradition, they would not have clutched at the desperate resource of attributing John's writings to Cerinthus. But even this unfortunate thought becomes a witness for the tradition. It shows that the Alogi must have had reasons for putting the origin of the fourth gospel in the time of John, and at Ephesus. Thus the tradition is not shattered, but confirmed by the Alogi. Aside from them, so far as we know, doubt as to John's authorship of the fourth gospel never has been raised in the Church.^{31a}

Bretschneider.

Doubts as to and attacks upon John's authorship begin only at the turn of the last and present centuries. Evanson, 1792, attributes the gospel to a Platonist; Vogel, in his *Last Judgment*, 1801, to a Petrine Jewish Christian; and Cludius, 1808, to a Jewish Christian with Gnostic additions. These assaults—of Evanson's superficial criticism, of Vogel's frivolous criticism, and of the more dignified criticism of Cludius and Ballenstedt, 1812—passed by without making much impression. Bretschneider's attack, 1820, was more profound and more comprehensive. He contested the genuineness on external and especially on internal grounds. The picture of Christ in the fourth gospel

is different from that in the synoptists.³² The comparison of the discourses of Jesus in both makes the synoptic ones appear to be genuine, while those of the fourth gospel are improbable and impossible.³³ Jesus does not speak, but the evangelist makes him discourse³⁴ coldly, dogmatically, and metaphysically, as, for example, in chapter xvii.³⁵ Further, the evangelist himself lets us understand that he is not an eye-witness, but is dependent on tradition;³⁶ he seems to have been neither an inhabitant of Palestine, nor even of Jewish descent.³⁷ A Gentile Christian, at the beginning of the second century or somewhat later, wrote this gospel in an apologetical polemical interest against the hostile Jews; compare *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*.³⁸ For this purpose the author uses the higher knowledge (*γνώσις*), professedly springing from Jesus Himself, as a secret doctrine, and the Logos doctrine.³⁹ So the gospel is not from the apostle John. If, as is by no means certain, the Revelation be from him, so much the less can the gospel be his.⁴⁰ Nothing can be argued from the epistles, since they likewise are not genuine.⁴¹ As for the external witnesses, if they are more ancient, they are much too uncertain; if they are certain, they are too late to prove anything.⁴² Besides, the early church was not critical enough for us to rely upon her testimony.⁴³ From the tolerably early and general use that the Valentinians made of the gospel, we may conclude that it arose in Egypt, was carried from there to Rome and Gaul by the Gnostics, came to Antioch from Alexandria by Theophilus, and was spread in Asia Minor.⁴⁴ Yet, however that may be, the negative result of the criticism is in any case certain.⁴⁵

We see by this showing that almost all the aspects displayed later by the Tübingen criticism are already asserted here. Never before were all the doubts as to the genuineness of the gospel of John so completely

presented and so thoroughly carried out. Hence we can easily comprehend the great commotion excited by the *Probabilia*. The next year brought a large number of answers. Bretschneider himself offered explanations, in which he gave up his objections; he had accomplished his design, he said—namely, to bring the question into a clearer light.^{46a} The brevity and the tone of these explanations do not dispel all doubts as to whether he really considered his objections to be refuted. It is enough, however, that he dismissed them; and the rest of the theological public esteemed the genuineness of the fourth gospel as surer than before. The Schleiermacher school especially made the fourth gospel their pet gospel. Its contemplative and spiritual temper suited the modern Christian consciousness better than the apparently external synoptists, with their frequent tales of miracles and of the casting out of devils. And then the portrait of Christ offered in the fourth gospel seemed to be of the same kind as the ideal Christ of Schleiermacher's school. From this mood Lücke's Commentary went forth in 1820. Though somewhat unjust towards the first three gospels, as 'anecdote-like,' he sought with warm feeling to reconcile the fourth gospel with the theological understanding of the new age. In the following editions (the third in 1840) he defended John's authorship firmly against the new assaults.

Strauss.

David Frederick Strauss' *Life of Christ*, in 1835, was the book which set the question of the gospel history, and, in connection with this, the question of the gospels themselves, again in active agitation. It is true, Strauss' attack aimed first especially at the

history, which he dissolved in myths. But the conclusion followed of itself, that we can have in the gospels, and therefore too in the fourth gospel, no apostolic account. The opposition that he met with led him, in 1838, to make admissions with regard to the fourth gospel; but he soon, in 1840, took them back.⁴⁶ His notion was this: The portrait of Christ shaped itself poetically in the Christian Church at the suggestion of the ancient prophecies, and this form deposited itself in the gospels. That which Strauss considers an arbitrary poetical product, Bruno Bauer, in 1840 and later, thinks to be a party fiction. The gospels proceeded not from the combined consciousness of the Church, but from the decided partisan views of single men, who then pressed them on the rest as truth. Naturally it is not history: no human heart beats in the Jesus of John's gospel. The fourth gospel wishes to rise above the Jewish Christianity, and opposes the authority of Peter by the authority of the nameless one, John. But in doing this it dissolves the form of the original history, by its absurd reflections, into shapeless indefiniteness.⁴⁷ The 'Saxon Anonymous,' in his remarkable book, *The Gospels, their spirit, their authors, and their mutual relations*, in 1845, gave this partisan character of the gospel historical books an altogether personal turn. 'The gospels are really apostolic writings, and are therefore to be regarded as authentic sources of the apostolic doctrinal systems;' ⁴⁸ but they are 'partisan writings,' and their authors 'set themselves in the most conscious and most intentional opposition to each other.'⁴⁹ The fourth gospel is by John, the son of Zebedee. But we 'cannot mistake throughout his subtle yet complete opposition towards Matthew,' and his misproportioned exaltation of Peter;⁵⁰ and we must admit that Peter, by the side of his nameless companion, who nevertheless is made

clearly enough recognisable, has really lost the palm, and that John has in every respect won the precedence.⁵¹ But to gain John's authorship at such a price is a Pyrrhus victory.

Before this they had tried to ease the difficulties offered by the difference between the first three gospels and the fourth by taking a middle course. Strauss' criticism threatened Christianity with a general shipwreck. Weisse, thinking to save something at least, threw John's Christ overboard, and tried to bring the synoptic Christ, especially as he appears in Mark, the original gospel, safely to land. On this behalf, in 1838, he distinguished in the fourth gospel between single genuine pieces of John's, and later additions; this he repeated in 1855 and 1856. In like manner Schenkel, in 1840, and in particular Schweizer, in 1842, sought help by discriminating: the discourses are historical, the story is not. It is impossible, however, to dissect in this manner a book like the fourth gospel, which is made at one cast. Lützelberger, in 1840, in contrast with these half-measures, took a radical course. He denied altogether John's residence in Asia Minor, so as to draw the ground from under the tradition as to John. But this attempt was considered, at least at that time, an unfortunate or 'quixotic' notion; and even Tübingen criticism⁵² could not find words enough to emphasize the 'arbitrary' and 'fantastical' character of these combinations and constructions. This proposition was not to come to honour until later.

Lützelberger had begged permission for his fancy to speak; and the assertions of Bruno Bauer and the rest gave the impression that they had taken this license for themselves. By this time all was so arbitrary and subjective, that it was impossible to go any farther in that line. The critical operation,

therefore, must be completed on the basis of a connected survey, tracing the course of the most ancient church history.

Baur.

Such was the war-plan which Baur of Tübingen made it his life-work to carry out. He himself⁵³ speaks in the most decided manner of the unhistorical and arbitrary character of the previous researches, in order thereby to establish the necessity for his new criticism. The ground for New Testament criticism must be obtained from the epistles of Paul. 'I am convinced that enough data are found in the epistles of this apostle to make it clear that the relation between the apostle Paul and the earlier apostles was entirely different from what is commonly supposed. Where only a thorough harmony of all the apostles is thought to be seen, there was in fact a strife; and this went so far that the Jewish-Christian side even called in question the authority of Paul. Further researches in church history enabled me to look deeper into the importance of this antagonism in the sub-apostolic time. The contrast between the two parties, Paulists and Petrists or Judaists, in the apostolic and sub-apostolic periods, should be much more strictly and exactly drawn than it has yet been. It became constantly clearer to me that this contrast had had an important influence . . . on the composition of Acts, and on the canonical epistles.'⁵⁴ These researches were next extended to the gospels also. 'The fundamental difference between John's gospel and the synoptic gospels pressed itself so convincingly on me, that the view of the character and origin of the former, which I worked out in the *Theological Annual* for the year 1844, at once formed

itself in my mind.'⁵⁵ This gave a new standpoint both for New Testament criticism and for gospel history. If the gospel of John is not historical, like the others, if it even does not mean to be historical, it has undeniably an ideal purpose, and can no longer stand in historical antagonism with the synoptic gospels. Hence it is no longer possible, on the Strauss tactics and plan of operations, first to fight the synoptists with John, and then to fight John with the synoptists; the only result of which can be, that you do not know what to rely on in the gospel history. In proportion as the historical value of John falls, 'that of the synoptists rises.'⁵⁶ The gospel of John was written with a definite purpose. It wished to put an end to the old antagonism between the Pauline and Judaistic parties. It touched, but did not go into, the particulars of the various questions of the second century, such as Montanism, Gnosticism, the Logos-doctrine and the passover controversies: this it did in order to raise the differences to a higher unity, and thereby to found the Catholic Church. Hence, at the earliest, it may have arisen about 160. It was attributed to John because it united itself to his genuine book, the rugged, Jewish, anti-Pauline Revelation, ennobling this by its high, free spirit; and therefore, from the outset, put itself under the ægis of that honoured apostle. It borrows its material from the synoptists, but re-models and transforms it to its purposes 'forth from the Christian consciousness' in the freest manner, making the history, with strictest consistency, subservient to the idea.

Schwegler was appointed to give the first exhibition of this new view in his *Montanism*, 1841, and *Sub-Apostolic Age*, 1846. Then Baur himself, in 1844 and 1847, published his foundation treatise on the composi-

tion and character of John's gospel. Zeller received the task of justifying this view in the face of ecclesiastical tradition, by a criticism of the external testimony, in 1845 and 1847. Among the separate points which were specially discussed in connection with it, the passover question in particular called forth an exceedingly rich literature.⁵⁷

Thiersch, in his attempt to restore the historical standpoint for the criticism of the New Testament books, in 1845, tried to oppose Baur's complete view by a complete view of his own as to the historical course of the apostolic and sub-apostolic Church. This he did on the basis of comprehensive studies, in the most decided antagonism to that criticism. Bleek, on the other hand, in his deliberate way, examined Baur's assertions in detail.⁵⁸

The Tübingen school sought only the more resolutely to maintain and defend their position. Zeller, in 1847, and Köstlin, in 1851, reversed the relation of the gospel to Justin, declaring him and his Logos doctrine independent of the former, and that the former was a 'free formation from the Christian consciousness.' But Hilgenfeld, in 1849, put the gospel between the Valentinian and Marcionite Gnosticism, and found Gnostic dualism even in the gospel itself. The insertion of the fourth gospel into the course of the development of the second century could go no farther. Proof was brought that the reasonable unity of the gospel of John could be maintained, without taking it to be an unhistorical product of the Christian consciousness, but rather in complete harmony with its historical character (Luthardt, 1852, 1853). And more especially the two declarations above met very emphatic opposition. Justin's relation to the canonical gospels, and particularly to John, became the object⁵⁹ of thorough researches — latterly with reference to Hilgenfeld's

works in this sphere, in 1850 and 1852.⁶⁰ The new citation from the ninth chapter of John, which Dressel discovered in the Clementine Homilies, added important confirmation to these inquiries. Volkmar, indeed, strove for a long time against owning the priority of the 'Logos gospel,' 1853, 1854, 1860. With time, however, this position has been given up, and only a few Dutch and English scholars, as Matthes in 1867, and Davidson in 1868, still hold that the author of the fourth gospel borrowed from Justin. The other question, as to the relation of the gospel to the Gnosticism of the second century, received new material for its decision by the discovery, publication, and examination of the *Philosophoumena* of Origen, or rather of Hippolytus.⁶¹ Zeller, in 1853, hastened to show that the citations from Gnostic literature which this book contained, in spite of the singular form of quotation ($\phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$), were to be referred not to the heads of the school, but to the school itself. On the other hand, Hofstede de Groot, in 1868, thought he could prove a use of the gospel on the part of Basilides as early as the first quarter of the second century. However that may be, in any case the *Philosophoumena* showed so varied a use of the gospel of John in the Gnostic schools of the second century, that this fact alone compelled the withdrawing of the origin of the gospel into the first half of the second century. This it must do, even if Lipsius' chronological retardation of Marcion and Heracleon were more correct than it is.⁶² Hilgenfeld, therefore, who for a long time had wished to heal, by his literary historical criticism, the wounds given to theology by Baur's partisan criticism,⁶³ although he still clung to the Gnostic presuppositions of the fourth gospel, in 1854 went back to the second quarter of the second century; and now, in 1870 and 1871, he says more

definitely, about 135.⁶⁴ A list of further literary facts united⁶⁵ to compel a further withdrawal. And therefore Keim closes his thorough inquiry of 1867 with the result that 'the fourth gospel arose in the beginning of the second century, doubtless under the emperor Trajan, between 100 and 117.'⁶⁶ Even if they do not go back so far, however, but stop at 120 or 130, they come into doubtful proximity to the fresh memories of John's circle. The apostle of Asia Minor had been dead so short a time, that it would have been impossible to impute to him a book belonging to some one else; especially a book contradicting him, as the gospel must if the Revelation be his, and be so Judaizing and anti-Pauline as they commonly assume. Under these circumstances, Keim takes the shift of denying altogether John's residence in Asia Minor, and explaining the tradition thereof for a misunderstanding arising from John's counterpart, the presbyter John. John himself never came to Asia Minor, and probably died before A.D. 68. Scholten chimed in with this in 1871 and 1872. Neither the Revelation, nor the gospel, nor the epistles are from John. The gospel is, on the contrary, utterly contrary to John. John himself died early. Even Holtzmann, 1871, and Wittichen, 1869, agreed with that denial. The last, it is true, with the difference that the gospel was written by the apostle in Syria, between 70 and 80. On the other hand, Keim lately, 1873, comes down again to 130.

Thus Vogel, of 1801, and Lützelberger, of 1840, had unexpectedly come into honour. This course, however, broke so decidedly with all tradition, that it could not but meet the most manifold contradiction. Lützelberger had been met not only by Grimm,⁶⁷ but also by the whole school of Baur. And now Keim found a refutation not merely at the hands of Steitz, in 1868,

but no less decidedly from Hilgenfeld, in 1868, and Krenkel, in 1871. Keim's trump, 'that the position that the doubles really existed by each other only remains for lack of understanding or for obstinacy,'⁶⁸ did not help him a bit. And when he thought that he had so thoroughly 'dissolved' John's double that he could wait securely to see 'whether any one would dare to call him to life again,'⁶⁹ he did not have to wait very long.

The residence of the apostle in Asia Minor is historical. And the origin of the fourth gospel is to be laid in Asia Minor, and carried back to the first ten or twenty years of the century. If this be the case, how can they keep the two facts from moving towards each other till they meet?

Years ago, different attempts came out to bring the fourth gospel more or less closely into contact with the apostle John. Schenkel, in 1864, put it between 110 and 120, and took it to have grown from John's influence and the corresponding Gnosticism. Freytag, in 1863, followed more nearly Weisse's line of thought. Tobler, in 1858 and 1867, thought he could make up an original John out of John's fragments.⁷⁰ Weizsäcker, in 1864, considered that John's discourses or sketches had been combined, perhaps by a disciple of the apostle's, into a half historical half unhistorical whole. Nicolas, in 1864, and Renan, in 1867, 1870, took the matter in the same way. And when Ewald, in 1860, makes the gospel to have been drawn up by the help of 'a younger friend, who wrote it down at the mouth of the apostle,' we have already reached John himself. It was but a short step, then, to the discussions of Riegenbach, in 1866, and Godet, in 1869, tracing the gospel to apostolic composition. This position also had been newly confirmed by the thorough researches of Bleek, in 1861 and 1866; and Meyer held it fast in his commentary of 1869.

We shall now go to our own investigation.

¹ The literature of the contested origin will be found in the Appendix.

² Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1845, p. 645 f.

³ Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2d edit., Berlin, 1866, p. 224. English translation by W. Urwick, in Clark's Foreign Theological Library. 3d Germ. edit., Berlin, 1875.

⁴ Volkmar, *Hippolyt und die römischen Zeitgenossen*, Zürich, 1855, p. 113.

⁵ Philastrius, *De Hæresibus*, cap. 60; edit. Fabricius, Hamburg, 1721, pp. 120, 121.

⁶ Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, II. li. 3; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1860, vol. ii. pp. 451, 452.

⁷ *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Vienna, 1865.

⁸ Adolf Harnack, *Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus. Ueber das verlorengegangene Syntagma Hippolyt's, die Zeit seiner Abfassung, und die Quellen die ihm zu Grunde liegen. Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1874. 2tes Heft, p. 143 ff. [The author is now Privatdocent in the University at Leipzig.—C.R.G.]

⁹ Compare Bunsen, *Hippolyt u. s. Zeit*, Leipzig, 1852, vol. i. p. 210:—ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην [sic] εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως.

¹⁰ Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, II. li. 4 ff.; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1860, vol. ii. p. 452 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.* II. li. 22 ff.; p. 481 ff.

¹² *Ibid.* II. li. 26; p. 491 f.

¹³ *Ibid.* II. li. 3 and 28; pp. 451 ff., and 494; compare II. liv. 1; p. 510.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* II. li. 32; p. 499.

¹⁵ τάχα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς. *Ibid.* II. li. 34; p. 501.

¹⁶ Lipsius, *ut supra*, p. 27.

¹⁷ Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, II. li. 28; *ut supra*, p. 494.—δικαίως Ἀλόγους καλίσαιμι, ἐπεὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποβάλλονται, τὸν διὰ Ἰωάννην κηρυχθέντα πατρικὸν θεὸν λόγον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθότα. [Professor Luthardt reads καλίσομαι.—C.R.G.]

¹⁸ Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, II. liv. 1.; edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1860, vol. ii. p. 510.—τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα θεὸν λόγον.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* II. li. 30; p. 497.—ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι αὐτὸς θεὸς ἐστὶ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ.

²⁰ *Ibid.* II. liv. 1; p. 510.—ἀπόσπασμα.

²¹ See above, p. 10, near the foot.

²² Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, I. xxvi. 1 (xxv.); edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 105.

²³ *Ibid.* III. xi. 9; p. 192.—'Alii vero ut donum Spiritus

frustrentur, quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt, quæ est secundum Joannis evangelium, in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit; sed simul et evangelium, et propheticum repellunt spiritum. Infelices vere, qui pseudo-prophetæ quidem esse volunt; propheticam vero gratiam repellunt ab Ecclesia: similia patientes his, qui propter eos qui in hypocrisi veniunt, etiam a fratrum communicatione se abstinere. Datur autem intelligi, quod hujusmodi neque apostolum Paulum recipiant. In ea enim epistola, quæ est ad Corinthios, de prophetis charismatibus diligenter loquutus est, et scit viros et mulieres in Ecclesia prophetantes. Per hæc igitur omnia peccantes in Spiritum Dei, in irremissibile incidunt peccatum.'

²⁴ Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, II. li. 33; edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1860, vol. ii. p. 500. On occasion of mentioning the apocalyptic epistle to Thyatira.

²⁵ *Ibid.* II. li. 35; p. 503.

²⁶ μή δεξάμενοι πνεῦμα ἄγιον.

²⁷ Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien nach den Urkunden laut den neueren Entdeckungen und Verhandlungen*, Zürich, 1866, pp. 25, 74. See, on the other hand, Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis*, Basel, 1866, p. 22 f.

²⁸ Compare Stieren on this passage.

²⁹ Hayd, in his translation of Irenæus.

³⁰ Harnack, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1874, *ut supra*, pp. 167, 168, note.

³¹ Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Vienna, 1865, p. 27.

^{31a} [See note at head of Appendix.—C.R.G.]

³² Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, Leipzig, 1820, p. 37.

³³ Page 39 ff.

³⁸ Page 118 f.

⁴² Page 178 ff.

³⁴ Page 30 f.

³⁹ Pages 123 f., 125 ff.

⁴³ Page 221.

³⁵ Page 35.

⁴⁰ Page 150 ff.

⁴⁴ Page 221 ff.

³⁶ Page 65 ff.

⁴¹ 161 ff.

⁴⁵ Page 224.

³⁷ Page 83 ff.

^{45a} [See App. below, Nos. 76, 88.—C.R.G.]

⁴⁶ [See Appendix below, the literature under 1840.—C.R.G.]

⁴⁷ Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der Evangelien*, Berlin, 1850-1851, part iii. book vii. p. 324.

⁴⁸ *Die Evangelien, ihr Geist, ihre Verfasser, und ihr Verhältniss zu einander*, Leipzig, 1845, p. 439.

⁴⁹ Page 431.

⁵⁰ Page 373.

⁵¹ Page 376.

⁵² Schwegler, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1842, p. 293 f.

⁵³ Baur, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1851, p. 292 f.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 294.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 295.

⁵⁶ Baur, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1851, p. 295 f.

⁶⁷ Recorded by Schürer in his treatise on the passover controversies of the second century. *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1870, 2; p. 182 ff.

⁶⁸ Bleek, *Beiträge*, 1846; worked over in his New Testament Introduction, 1862, 1866, 1875.

⁶⁹ Bindemann, 1842; Semisch, 1848; Luthardt, 1856.

⁷⁰ Volkmar, 1853.

⁶¹ Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, published by Müller in 1851; and by Duncker and Schneidewin, *Hippolyti Refutatio Omnium Hæresium*, Göttingen, 1859.

⁶² Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* 4th edit., Leipzig, 1866, p. ix.; and especially Adolf Harnack, *Dissertation zur Quellenkritik des Gnosticismus*, Leipzig, 1873.

⁶³ Hilgenfeld, *Das Urchristenthum*, Jena, 1855, p. 23, note.

⁶⁴ [In Hilgenfeld's *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 695–739, he holds about the same view; see p. 738.—C.R.G.]

⁶⁵ See Tischendorf, 1865, 1866.

⁶⁶ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 155: in time 110–115.

⁶⁷ Grimm, W., 'Johannes der Apostel und Evangelist,' in Ersch und Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 2te section, 22ter Theil, Leipzig, 1843, p. 6 ff.; compare 'Johannes der Presbyter,' *Ibid.* p. 217 ff.

⁶⁸ Keim, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 164.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 167.

⁷⁰ [See also Appendix below, No. 430.—C.R.G.]

CHAPTER III.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

A FEW general remarks must precede the consideration of the various testimonies of the early church.

What may be Demanded.

We must see what is the measure of the demands that, in the nature of the thing, are to be made upon such a demonstration. Thiersch¹ claims, 'in the field of literary historical inquiry, that resignation' which, 'from the first, recognises every so-called cogent proof for the genuineness of a written work as impossible.' We can put by him a representative of the modern critical school, who agrees with him on this point almost verbally. Krenkel writes:² 'Where, then, in general, in questions like the one just treated by us, is an unqualifiedly cogent proof possible? And where is it demanded from those who, resting on internal and external grounds, claim the spiritual right of property in a book for him as whose work it has passed from the very beginning? Much rather, when any tax with error an ancient tradition commanding respect, does the task fall to them of showing that the original view is wrong. And the defenders of the latter have only to show that the hostile judgment of condemnation lacks due ground.' Krenkel brought this correct position to bear, in the first place, on the

question of John's residence in Asia Minor. We shall have the right to extend it to the question of John's authorship of the fourth gospel, especially as this question is bound with the former most closely, and as that tradition only exists in connection with this question. For these questions in theology no other principles hold good than those used in philological criticism. The evidence with which a prudent philology contents itself in analogous cases must be enough for us. Schwegeler³ and Thiersch⁴ remind us that the will of a doubter cannot be forced. It is enough if the baselessness and the purely hypothetical nature of the hostile resorts be proved for the unprejudiced judge, according to the rule of true philological principles.⁵ Hence it was rightly retorted upon Zeller,⁶ that it was unjust to claim from the defenders of the genuineness proofs of such a cogent sort that absolutely no other explanation could possibly be thought of, and that especially when one contented himself with mere possibilities, such as 'can,' 'it seems,' 'could,' and the like.⁷ Thiersch's words regarding the sensible resignation to be used in such literary historical questions⁸ gave Baur no right, in his answer,⁹ to say that that was a confession of weakness, and thereupon to put aside the whole dispute.

The Way they used to Quote.

The next remark bears on the kind of citations that we find in the writings of the earliest church teachers. The position of the first generations of Christianity towards the apostolic writings was of course different from ours. Separated from the time of the apostles by more than seventeen hundred years, it is natural that we should seek a firm hold for our connection

with them by the writings they have left to us. And yet even we, when we have to do not with literary interests or a definite doctrinal proof, but perhaps only with a devotional aim, not with the single words but with the thoughts—even we do not bind ourselves anxiously to the fixed wording, and much less are we accustomed to cite the passage itself. How much more would this be the case with that age, still living in the fresh stream of the first tradition! They used the single thoughts and words chiefly in practical and not in scientific interests; and what in the world should have led them to cite these exactly, with statement of the particular book and of its author? This became more frequently the case only in proportion as the distance grew greater. Why, the very use of the Old Testament Scriptures by the writers of the New Testament is, as a rule, nothing else. To get a lively impression of this, we need only bring up to our minds the first epistle of Peter, which is entirely interwoven with Old Testament quotations and reminiscences. And yet these were the ancient and reverend Old Testament Scriptures! This, now, is exactly the way with the young New Testament books, which were far less separated from the oral tradition than the Old Testament, and had to a far less extent become the foundation of the Church and the source of knowledge. It is well known how rich the first letter of Clement of Rome is in quotations from the epistle to the Hebrews. But the form in which these passages are used is the freest. The case is the same with the Shepherd of Hermas. The letter to Diognetus offers a like phenomenon. Look, for example, at the fifth chapter.¹⁰ How many unmistakable resemblances to Paul's epistles meet us here, and yet how seldom in the form of exact quotation! And when quoted, it is only in this general way, *ὁ ἀπόστολος*

λέγει ¹¹ ('the apostle says') or λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ¹² ('the Holy Ghost saith'). Even that single quotation of a saying of Jesus, in the letter of Barnabas,¹³ with the word ὡς γέγραπται ('as it is written'), is still kept general enough. They did not care about the 'who,' but about the 'what.' As late as Polycrates, about 190, in the discussions concerning the celebration of the passover, 'the exegetical question was broached far less frequently than we should have expected from our standpoint.'¹⁴ Volkmar, too, makes prominent 'with what freedom, and how thoroughly in the interest of what they wanted to prove, the Christian writers of that time were in a position,' [we say 'were accustomed'] 'to quote.'¹⁵ Rönisch mentions, even with regard to Tertullian, that he often did not bind himself to the words of Scripture.¹⁶ These considerations give a measure for the claims that we may make upon the citations of the fourth gospel in the early Christian literature.

The Literature Scanty.

And after all, how little of this literature has reached us! It was not very rich at the first. Early Christianity did not write much.¹⁷ Only a few fragments of its literature have been saved for us, and they are almost entirely upon undisputed doctrines. The libraries of Origen, of Pamphilus of Cæsarea, of Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, and of others, are for the most part lost. How valuable it would be for us could we have the five exegetical books of Papias, or the five books on church history by Hegesippus, or Justin's book against the heretics, or the complete Irenæus! Thus we must content ourselves with a few relics. It is clear that it may often be a mere chance

whether or not these have quotations from the books of the New Testament, and especially from the fourth gospel.

The Church went by Tradition.

Hence the whole character of the earliest Church comes more into consideration. We cannot lay upon that age rules which we have drawn from our own circumstances. We live in a period rich in literature, and lead in many respects a literary life. In comparison with us, that age was one that did not write much, and also that did not read much. A brisker literary activity did not wake up until towards the end of the second century. To such ages or circles a traditional and conservative spirit is so much the more proper. And conservative tenacity is the more characteristic of the tradition directly after the apostles, the more it lived upon, and was conscious that it lived upon, the rich treasures of the apostolic age. Look at the letter of Polycarp, who nevertheless was called the father of the Christians in Asia Minor. Recall the letter of the Roman Clement, which belongs still to the first century. We can see from these the vast distance between the sub-apostolic and the apostolic mind, and the dependence in which the sub-apostolic world of thought stood towards the apostolic. The period between the death of the apostles and the middle of the second century was no productive age. Their task was of a practical nature, and their calling, as Martin Chemnitz delineates that of the age directly after the Reformation, was 'parta tueri' ('to keep what had been gotten'). The passover controversy, and the conduct of Polycrates at the end of the second century, show with what tenacity they held fast to the original tradition. If we lay stress on this traditional

conservative spirit likewise for the keeping and witnessing to the apostolic literature, we shall only be supported therein by historical facts. The Church writers go back to the *παράδοσις* ('tradition'); and that not only a Papias, who had made the collection of the traditions his life-task, but also the others, a Clement of Alexandria,¹⁸ or an Origen, where he speaks of the epistle to the Hebrews.¹⁹ For example, the tradition of which Papias, Clement of Alexandria, and Irenæus speak, when they name the *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders') as their vouchers, is one mediated not in a literary way, but personally. And, as we learn from Origen's judgment as to the epistle to the Hebrews,²⁰ the tradition treated of is not merely individual, but also churchly. What decides is, whether, and under what title, a church possesses a book on the ground of tradition.²¹ As far as we know the particulars with regard to Hegesippus' work, which was apparently polemical or apologetical, the method of his proof was throughout the traditional-historical, on the basis of his researches in the traditions of the churches.

This, however, is connected with the church security for the books, which rested in the church reading and in the succession of the episcopacy.

Reading Scriptures in Church.

As for the anagnosis,²² we see, in the first place, from the New Testament itself, that the New Testament books, or at least the epistles, were meant to be read in church, 1 Thess. v. 27, Col. iv. 16, Rev. i. 3, ii. 7, etc. By this the writings in hand became church books. It is not hard to show that this reading was not merely a single one, but that it was a repeated one. It must have been in itself probable that the reading

of the New Testament books would be joined to the reading of the Old Testament books, which the Church had brought over from the synagogue. It is true that Pliny, reporting about the Christian worship, does not mention the reading. That, however, can excite no wonder, when we consider the shortness of his report, which only wished to state the 'summa culpæ vel erroris' ('the gist of the fault or error'), and when we consider the tendency of the whole investigation. Pliny says nothing of the reading of the Old Testament, but that is beyond question. In the more exact description of the Christian worship given by Justin, the reading of the New Testament books is expressly mentioned: καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται ('and the memoirs of the apostles or the books of the prophets are read').²⁸ He names only the gospels here, but we must needs understand that as the part put for the whole; and this the rather because a reading of the epistles was more likely than the reading of the gospels. This reading is the acknowledgment of the New Testament books as sacred scriptures, for it puts them on a level with the prophetic books of the Old Testament, and by this reading kept alive the tradition in regard to the New Testament writings, and made it sure.

The Episcopacy.

If, however, a church reading was to have place, this presupposes a recognition of the writings in question on the part of the overseers of the Church. Thus the anagnosis and also the tradition are connected with the institution of the episcopacy. Tertullian, for example, goes back to this for John's authorship of Revelation: 'Ordo episcoporum ad originem recen-

sus in Joannem stabit autorem' ('The order of bishops traced back to the beginning will stand for John as author').²⁴ And we see plainly from Eusebius' *Church History* that, to him, the succession of the episcopacy and the formation of the canon stand in inward causal connection. Hence, by fencing off the episcopal church from the heretical societies outside of the Church, utterly different circles of literature were constituted. Serapion, bishop of Antioch, had to apply to a heretical circle outside of the Church to get the so-called gospel of Peter. He had, through carelessness, suffered it for a while in the church at Rhossus in Cilicia. At last he perceived its heretical character, and made his mistake good by a letter to the church: *γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ παρελάβομεν* ('knowing that we do not receive such').²⁵

The guaranty which the anagnosis, in union with the episcopacy, lends to the church tradition as to the apostolic books, is not injured by the fact that certain other writings were read in separate churches or neighbourhoods for memory or for devotion. Such cases were those of the letter of Clement of Rome, read in Corinth; the Shepherd of Hermas; the Acts of the Martyrs, read on the memorial days in the churches concerned; and the so-called Revelation of Peter, read once a year in a few of the churches of Palestine: the last-named book seems to have contained the destruction of Jerusalem. At all times various things have been read in different churches by the side of the proper Scripture readings, without injuring the importance of the latter.²⁶ It is true we may have to see in these facts a proof that the bounds of what was canonical were at the beginning still tolerably undecided, and yet the church reading of a book like the gospel of John does not on this account cease to be the means and the security of its tradition.

It follows from this that we are not exclusively dependent upon the single witnesses to our book which are left after the fall of a richer early church literature.

In turning now to the external witnesses, we shall go backwards from the later time, in which the position of the matter is unquestionable, to that earlier time in which the sources yield more sparingly, and hence the question may appear more doubtful.

Eusebius.

Eusebius had almost all the Christian literature of the first century at command. We can easily see his use of it in his *Church History*. Many passages of earlier writers are only preserved for us in his report. Reuterdahl²⁷ counts no fewer than forty-six church writers, with their names, whose books Eusebius knew and used. This leaves out of account those not named and the heretics. And 'the gains from public archives, church libraries, and private collections were increased by ancient traditions.'²⁸ Eusebius counts the fourth gospel among the uncontested (*ἀναγρίπτῃ*) writings of the apostle John. He says of it that it is sufficiently known and unanimously acknowledged by all churches under heaven.²⁹ In these words he gives the state of the case as he had found it in the literature and tradition that were at his command. He does not betake himself here to single witnesses or testimonies, but to the united testimony of Christendom in general. Before this and after this he quotes single accounts of Clement of Alexandria and others in regard to John. These, however, do not bear upon the authorship of the gospel itself, but upon the more detailed circumstances of this authorship, or upon single occurrences in the life of the apostle. He considers it unnecessary to quote testimonies for John's

authorship. That authorship was beyond all doubt for this man, who knew the past of the Church so well. It would have taken strong grounds to have made us throw out his testimony. But the testimonies of the earlier time, as far as they lie before us, only serve to confirm his assertion.

Origen.

The most learned church teacher of the time before Eusebius was Origen. Born at about 185, he was appointed teacher in Alexandria as early as 203, when hardly eighteen years old. The respect for his learning and his school went far beyond the limits of that church, indeed beyond the limits of the Christian Church. He praises the fourth gospel as the ἀπαρχὴ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ('the choice one of the gospels').³⁰ Besides this, he distinguishes sharply between the four canonical gospels and the others, from the multitude of which the skilled brokers rightly picked out the four.³¹ The other attempts—the gospel of the Egyptians, that of the Twelve, that of Thomas, that of Basilides, that of Matthias, and many more—were rejected by the Church.³² His words express the fullest certainty. The Church, as far as he knows it in space and time, has those four gospels, no more and no fewer. Outside of the Church are uncertainty and arbitrariness. This testimony is not that of a single person; it is the testimony of the Church itself, as far as Origen knew her and her history, and he knew both well enough.

Tertullian.

Tertullian is a considerably older contemporary of Origen's. His birth is commonly put at 160, but

better at 150. Dying at about 220, his bloom falls, according to Jerome, 'sub Severo principe et Antonino Caracalla' ('under Septimius Severus, 193-211, and Antoninus Caracalla, 211-217'). We can see from the careful work of H. Rönisch³³ to what extent Tertullian uses the New Testament books, and how unquestionably firm their canonical authority is to him. The citations from the gospel of John are extremely numerous, partly with, but mostly without, mention of the author, just as the connection of the words suggests. And John's authorship is not unquestionable to him alone. He refers his opponent Marcion, for the four gospels in general, to the apostolic churches, —to Corinth, Galatia, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Rome, and the churches of John.³⁴ We see from this argument of Tertullian's that Marcion could not deny the general recognition of the canonical gospels. Therefore they then stood firm. We pass for the present the conclusions this yields for Marcion's time, the middle of the second century. That will come up again. The position of the matter for the time of Tertullian, and for its historical consciousness, is unquestionable. But this leads farther back. Tertullian expresses the general consciousness of the Church of that day in all its parts. The formation and certainty of this require a good bit of time; hence the gospel of John cannot have arisen just a few tens of years earlier. That consciousness, as we see from Tertullian, links itself to the Ephesian residence of the apostle John. It follows that this residence forms an integral point in that general tradition of the Church. The outward hold for the tradition is the 'ordo episcoporum ad originem recens' ('order of bishops traced back to the beginning').³⁵ The Church is not a crowd of separate persons, or a collection of subjective views and fancies, but a historical organism.

This secures the tradition concerning the Sacred Scriptures. And the Scriptures themselves appear in Tertullian not as a chance collection, but in a definite arrangement. He distinguishes the two halves of the New Testament,—‘*evangelicum instrumentum*,’ and ‘*apostolica instrumenta*’ (‘gospel instrument,’ and ‘apostolic instruments’).³⁶ The first contains the four canonical gospels, commonly reckoned according to the apostles, John and Matthew, and the apostles’ disciples, Luke and Mark, in a way that recalls Justin’s *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἀκολουθησάντων* (‘memoirs of the apostles and of those who followed them’).³⁷ The second³⁸ contains the four smaller divisions,—‘*instrumentum actorum*, *instrumentum Pauli*, *instrumentum Joannis*’ (‘instrument of the acts, instrument of Paul, instrument of John’ [Revelation and 1 John]), and an appendix of New Testament *ἀντιλεγόμενα* (‘disputed books’), 1 Peter, Hebrews (by Barnabas), and Jude (2 John is doubtful). This whole arrangement shows that not only the recognition of the separate books, but also that the canon itself had already had a history. For Tertullian cites, ‘in by far the greater number of cases, by the wording of a version which was received in his day by the African, and especially by the Carthaginian Christians, and which perhaps had arisen long before,’ the so-called ‘*Itala*.’³⁹ The linguistic researches which Rösensch has made in his *Itala and Vulgata*⁴⁰ afford weighty critical inferences for our question. It is a fact that at the time of Tertullian ‘there were in the African church several, it may be many, Latin translations of the Bible.’⁴¹ One of these became prominent, and enjoyed a certain official authority.⁴² It obtained this respect by its internal worth, the union of verbal faithfulness with clearness of sense, for which Augustine praised it.⁴³ We can see what authority it had by the

fact that Tertullian followed it, even in passages in which the translation did not satisfy him, and was more a hindrance than a help to his purpose.⁴⁴ It stood in prevailing use.⁴⁵ What else follows but that it must have existed already several tens of years? It can hardly have arisen much after 150.⁴⁶ Now this was a translation of the whole Bible. Therefore the New Testament books, as they lie before us in Tertullian's canon, have by that time been united to the Old Testament canon, and that as a collection. They must in consequence have then already rejoiced in an unquestionable authority, and have formed a sacred canon. The gospel of John belonged to this. It follows that this gospel could not have arisen only at the middle of the second century. Its origin must belong to a considerably earlier date. The weighing of these circumstances forbids us, in my opinion, to look later than 120. If we add that Africa received Christianity and the Sacred Scriptures not at first hand, but second hand, through Rome,⁴⁷ and that only then the translation was made in Africa, this roundabout way drives us, if possible, still further back. Thus the result of these literary researches throws the origin of the fourth gospel back at least to the neighbourhood of 120.

The Muratori Fragment.

The state of the canon at the second half of the second century, as it meets us from another source, gives the same conclusion. The Muratori Fragment may be a translation from the Greek, or it may be a Latin original, or vulgar Latin even, as Hesse has explained it.⁴⁸ In any case it is a document on the state of the New Testament canon belonging to the second

half, or more exactly, perhaps, to the last quarter of the second century: Adolf Harnack says between 170 and 180.⁴⁹ In all probability it is from the Roman, and, in spite of the African-like language, not from the African church.⁵⁰ The gospel is here, like John and the Revelation, ascribed to a 'Joannes ex discipulis' ('John of the disciples'), and there is no doubt that the apostle is the person meant.⁵¹ That fact is, however, independent of the further embellishments of the account, occasioned probably by the closing testimony of chapter xxi. It relates that, after the appointment of a three-days' fast, it was revealed to Andrew that John should write the gospel, and the others look over it and sanction it.⁵²

The Peshito.

The Peshito springs from the same time. It gives us the New Testament canon of the Syrian church. We thus have the testimony of the African, Roman, and Syrian churches of that day, and the testimony of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Gaul agrees therewith. Hence we not only see that the gospel of John was then everywhere acknowledged as a canonical book, Eusebius' account being thus confirmed, but we also find it to be an integral part of the New Testament canon, which was in essentials firmly settled and was received alike in the most different parts of the Church, east and west. From this we reach with strengthened certainty the same result which was afforded by the consideration of Tertullian's New Testament. It is not conceivable that the New Testament canon was formed only at the middle of the second century.

Theophilus of Antioch.

Theophilus of Antioch wrote not only a commentary on the gospels, but also, according to Jerome, a harmonious combination of them, 'putting the words of the four gospels together in one work;'⁵³ and Jerome knew his work. If the Valentinian Ptolemæus does not precede Theophilus in time, which question we shall consider again, Theophilus is the first to name John expressly as a sacred writer. This he does in a book still preserved.⁵⁴ The reason is not that this opinion first arose then, or was peculiar to Theophilus; it is an altogether accidental fact. Nobody ever knew or thought otherwise. Therefore Scholten makes purely arbitrary assertions when he says: ⁵⁵ 'That the fourth gospel was not held to be the work of the apostle John from the beginning appears further from the fact, that the later Gnostics, Tatian, Ptolemæus, and Herakleon, used it indeed, but without ascribing it to John, . . . and even the Muratori Fragment thought itself bound to come out in defence of John's authorship.' On the contrary, the Muratori Fragment mentions the name of John no differently from that of Luke and of Paul in connection with their writings. And why should Tatian emphasize the apostolic authorship, when no one questioned it? See how they argue. Is the name not mentioned? That is suspicious. Is the name mentioned? That is suspicious again, because there is design in it. How could a body satisfy such criticism?

Clement of Alexandria and Irenæus prove that the name of John here was an old tradition in the Church.

Clement of Alexandria.

Clement of Alexandria died about 220. As Tertullian divides the New Testament into the 'gospel' and 'the apostolic instrument,' so Clement divides it into 'the gospel' and 'the apostle.'⁵⁶ We need not trouble ourselves about his view of the canon of the second part. The closed number of the four gospels was no question to him. He distinguishes quite decidedly between the four canonical and other non-canonical gospels—like the gospel of the Egyptians, for example.⁵⁷ What he tells about the origin and order of these four gospels is a 'tradition of the former elders,'⁵⁸ that is, of the church leaders of an earlier generation, and so certainly of the middle of the second century. Although he is not unacquainted with Irenæus' great book against the heretics, he is still independent of it in his statements. The putting the gospel of Luke at an earlier date than that of Mark agrees neither with Irenæus nor with Tertullian. This shows us, what can be quite definitely proved for his statement as to the canon of the Bible, that he follows special sources of tradition of independent value. He not only stands out as a man very well informed in a literary way, a point on which Eusebius lays stress,⁵⁹ but he also, by reason of his teacher Pantænus, †189, his extended journeys at about 180–185, and his Alexandrian activity, came into connection with the earlier times of the second century. He could well say that he stood quite close to the first successors of the apostles.⁶⁰ Accordingly his statements concerning the life of the apostle in Asia Minor, that beautiful story of the saved youth,⁶¹ and no less his account of the origin and design of John's gospel,⁶² rested on information which he had the opportunity to draw from those who had touched the apostolic days.

Irenæus.

Irenæus, a younger contemporary of Clement's, is the chief witness in regard to John, because of his personal connection with that apostle by means of Polycarp. He wrote a letter to Florinus,⁶³ which we shall have to return to later, in treating of the residence of John in Asia Minor. In this letter he reminds the erring friend of his youth of the common instruction which they had enjoyed in their youth at the lips of Polycarp, and of the things Polycarp used to tell about his personal intercourse with the apostle John. That is a solidity of tradition as firm as can be wished for. Irenæus wrote his big anti-heretical work about 182; ⁶⁴ Nitzsch says 180.⁶⁵ At the persecution in 177 he was already a presbyter in Lyons, and he left Asia Minor about as early as 170, so he could hardly have been born after 140. Polycarp died in 167 or 169. At his death he had been a Christian for 86 years, and hence his birth cannot fall later than 70-80.⁶⁶ And John, according to Irenæus' testimony, lived 'till the times of Trajan,' 98-117.⁶⁷ Aside from Polycarp's stories, Irenæus bore to Gaul the Asia Minor tradition in general, and used it well. He owed to it what he knew of John and of his gospel. To him John's authorship of the fourth gospel is an indisputable fact, recognised by the whole Church. That well-known parallel drawn between the 'four-fold gospel' and the four cherubim,⁶⁸ is to him not a proof of the number four, but an allegory which presupposes the settled fact. Nor is this allegory so queer as it has been declared to be. As four is the number of the world, so is four the number of the gospels for the world. And as the divine Logos is enthroned on the four cherubim, and reveals his activity in their different shapes, so do the gospels bear Jesus Christ and portray

his manifold sides. Directly before this passage he speaks of the firmness of their authority, which the heretics recognise by trying to support their false views from the gospels, handling them arbitrarily.⁶⁹ Both sources of knowledge, tradition and Scripture, stand in close connection with each other: 'The true knowledge is the apostolic doctrine, and the old connection (*σύντημα*) of the Church in the whole world, and the seal ('character') of the body of Christ according to the succession of the bishops, to whom the apostles handed over the Church in every place; [and the true knowledge is] the fullest use of the Scriptures, which [namely, the use] has come to us in good keeping without fiction, allowing ('recipiens') no addition or omission; and the reading [of the Scriptures] without deceit ('lectio sine falsatione') and the regular and careful exposition according to the Scriptures.'⁷⁰ He knows that he has firm historical ground under his feet not only for the tradition, but also for the Scriptures, and for the understanding of the Scriptures. Both are the common property of the Church from the beginning and everywhere, and are thereby secured and vouched for. 'The succession, which is the tradition from the apostles in the Church and the preaching of the truth, has come down to our day.'⁷¹ He asserts this for the Roman church, and no less for that of Asia Minor, where Polycarp, the apostle's scholar, and Ephesus, the church of Paul and John, are witnesses for the truth.⁷² This appeal to the general historical consciousness of the Church is brought to bear in the first place on the question of doctrine and of its truth. Therefore the apostolic authorship of the fourth gospel has for him not merely the value of a historical fact, but also a doctrinal value. The question is as to the apostolic preaching of Christian truth. In the third book of his great anti-heretical work he starts out to refute the Gnostics

from the standpoint of tradition and Scripture, which are closely connected with each other in the Church, and above all in the apostolic churches. Thus he is led to speak of the apostolic authorship of the fourth gospel, and of the nearer circumstances thereof.⁷³ While Peter and Paul were busy in Rome, Matthew wrote his gospel for the Hebrews in their own tongue. After the death of Peter and Paul, Mark, the scholar of Peter, wrote out the latter's teachings; and Luke, Paul's companion, committed to writing the gospel that he, Paul, preached: 'Then John himself too, the disciple of the Lord, who also lay on His bosom, published the gospel, while staying at Ephesus in Asia.' After Irenæus has brought the proof of tradition against the heretics,⁷⁴ he turns to the proof from Scripture,⁷⁵ and in particular from the gospels,—from the gospel of Matthew,⁷⁶ from the gospels of Luke and Mark,⁷⁷ and from the gospel of John.⁷⁸ Hence it is not his design to prove the apostolic authorship of the fourth gospel, or to bring this view to credit for the first time. What he aims at is this: to fix himself on the base of the authority of this gospel, which was recognised by the Gnostics, and especially by the Valentinians, and from that point to refute the statements they had drawn therefrom. It is simply this connection that leads him to his utterances concerning the origin of this gospel. We see plainly that he has a tolerably exact knowledge on this point from Asia Minor. He is the first to name Cerinthus,⁷⁹ against whose error, which was connected with the earlier error of the Nicolaitanes, John had written this gospel.⁸⁰ That error of the early time was a beginning of the later Gnosticism. Hence John's gospel, by its fundamental doctrines of the one God and the eternal Word which became flesh, is the refutation of the chimeras of this Gnosticism; ⁸¹ and thus the errorists are refuted by the very gospels to which

they had mistakenly appealed: 'For neither are there more in number than these, nor, again, does it accept fewer gospels.'⁸² In short, it is clear, bright daylight with Irenæus. But the reason we see so much more plainly here than in the case of others is only because we possess so much more written matter from him than from the others, and because the task set before him in this book gave him occasion to speak more definitely about this subject. The way and manner in which he speaks of it shows that, far from setting up something new or spreading a later opinion, he only appeals to generally acknowledged facts of ancient tradition. Hence we can go to the rest of the literature, from the same and from an earlier date, with the expectation that the result won will not be denied, but affirmed by it. And this expectation proves good.

The Epistle of Vienne and Lyons.

Eusebius has preserved a letter from the churches of Vienne and Lyons to the Christians in Asia and Phrygia about the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. Irenæus often passes for its author. It contains a quotation from John xvi. 2, and a mention of the Paraclete, John xiv. 26.⁸³ And even a Scholten has not dared to contest the genuineness of this epistle, but has to own that in the churches of Gaul at that time, 175–180, they not only knew the most of the books of the New Testament, but also carried over to them the doctrinal idea of the 'Sacred Scriptures.'⁸⁴

Polycrates.

Eusebius has also kept for us a bit of a letter, written about 190 by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus,

a contemporary of Irenæus. It was on the Easter dispute, and was addressed to the Roman bishop Victor. This fragment contains a reference to John, as 'the one who lay on the Lord's bosom,' clearly a reminiscence from John xiii. 25.⁸⁵ In 1849 Hilgenfeld contested this stoutly,⁸⁶ but in 1854 he no longer ventured to deny it.⁸⁷

Melito of Sardis.

Polycrates, in his letter, mentions the bishop Melito of Sardis among the great stars that lay buried in the Asiatic church. He belonged, perhaps, to the middle, or to the time just after the middle, of the second century. His name has remained long and honourably in the memory of succeeding ages. Though we have but a few fragments of his wide-spread literary activity, one of them betrays a knowledge of the gospel of John. It is well known that the assumption of a single year's activity on the part of Jesus obtained belief until far into the second century. This rested on synoptic tradition. It was held, however, even in connection with the use of John's gospel, as the Gnostic Ptolemæus, Valentine's disciple, shows. Now, just as Irenæus⁸⁸ opposed this, and, on the ground of John's gospel, proved the activity of Jesus to have embraced several years, so also we read in a fragment of Melito :⁸⁹ 'For being God and at the same time perfect man, he himself displayed to us his two natures,—his deity by the signs during the three years after the baptism, and his humanity in the thirty years before the baptism.' Overbeck,⁹⁰ it is true, has contested the genuineness of this fragment, against Otto, but he goes on a false supposition.

Tatian.

Tatian was at first a pupil of Justin. He travelled widely, and was learned. Later he turned Gnostic. An apologetical book of his is preserved, named, *λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας* (*Discourse to Greeks*). This is probably to be put at about 170. It contains undeniable citations from John's gospel, which are stronger as proofs because of his doctrines, which deviated from the Church's views. Look at these passages: πνεῦμα ὁ θεός ('God is a spirit,' John iv. 24);⁹¹ θεὸς ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν λόγου δύναμιν παρειλήφαμεν ('God was in the beginning, and we received at the beginning the power of the word,'⁹² John i. 1); especially weighty are καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄρα τὸ εἰρημένον ἢ σκοτία τὸ φῶς οὐ καταλαμβάνει . . . 'Ο λόγος μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φῶς ('and this, then, is that which was spoken: the darkness receiveth not the light. . . . The word is the light of God,' John i. 5);⁹³ and πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ἓν ('all things [were made] by Him, and without Him was nothing made,' John i. 3).⁹⁴ Hence it is certain that John's gospel was recognised by Tatian, and this is acknowledged even by the Tübingen critics.⁹⁵ It follows that we are justified in taking the name of another of his books, mentioned at least by Eusebius, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων ('that by four'),⁹⁶ to mean the four gospels.⁹⁷ This meaning is expressly confirmed by what Theodoret, bishop of Tyre, in Syria, †457, says from personal knowledge about it.⁹⁸ He has found in use in orthodox churches, probably of his own diocese, more than two hundred copies; and he puts them aside, because in the gospel harmony of Tatian the genealogies and all that referred to the Davidic descent of Jesus κατὰ σάρκα ('according to the flesh') were left out. He brought in instead the gospels of the four evangelists (καὶ τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν

ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλια). This contrast between the harmony of Tatian, διὰ τεσσάρων ('by four'), and the gospels of the four evangelists, proves of itself evidently that Tatian's work, though made arbitrarily, and perhaps provided with heretical additions, was a combination of those very four gospels into one whole. Therefore these four were at Tatian's time the ones generally and exclusively received by the Church. That is the only way to explain the attempt to unite these four in one book. It is arbitrary to try to exclude John's gospel from this.⁹⁹ Besides, that attempt is refuted by the knowledge of John's gospel shown by Tatian's apologetical book. It follows none the less from Tatian's effort that the authority for the four gospels did not date only from that time, but that it stood firm long before. It was no longer necessary to bring this authority to currency, but on the ground of it they were made the object of such literary attempts. Nor is Tatian merely a witness for the church of the East. His relation as disciple to the widely-travelled Justin, and his long stay in Rome, give his testimony a far-reaching importance. We can draw one conclusion from Theodoret's κατὰ σάρκα,¹⁰⁰ one that agrees with Tatian's dualistic asceticism; that is, the reason for the removal of the 'fleshly' side from the gospel lay in this Gnostic's docetizing Christology, to which John's gospel fitted better than the others with their genealogies. If he emphasizes John's gospel especially, that explains why Irenæus lays particular stress on the likeness between his Gnosticism and the Valentinian,¹⁰¹ since we know that precisely this school made an extended use of the gospel of John. Resting on this ground, Adolf Harnack has not only guessed, but much more has found out by a lucky hit, that Tatian's work on the gospels is rejected along with Valentinus in the Muratori Fragment.¹⁰²

Justin Martyr.

Tatian leads us to his teacher Justin. It is true that Tatian got his Gnosticism elsewhere, but on the other hand, whatever he had that belongs to the Church came from this teacher. To this must be reckoned his recognition of the four gospels, and especially of the Logos gospel. This would of itself suffice to confirm Justin's position towards the gospels, and especially towards the fourth. But we can bring from him himself the most stringent proof of the authority of the gospel of John in the Church at his day. I may refer to what I did in this line at another place in 1856.¹⁰⁸ Baur's objections to that in 1857 are of no weight. Little has appeared on this question since. It may be said that the right conception has gradually been more and more generally recognised, and that the question may on the whole be considered as settled. Justin was born at about 100, travelled around a great deal, and died as a martyr at his second stay in Rome, about 166. If we still had his book *κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰρέσεων* ('*Against all the Heresies*'), we should surely be completely informed as to the authority of the New Testament Scriptures in his day. Justin's example, doubtless, exerted an influence on the later refutations of heresies by Irenæus, Tertullian, and the rest. Therefore, from the way these later writers draw proofs from Scripture, we can infer backwards to Justin's method. Essentially, however, we are limited to his two *Apologies* and the *Dialogue*. According to current acceptance heretofore, the greater *Apology* was written in 138. Newer researches¹⁰⁴ put it at 147 or about 150; and Keim¹⁰⁵ goes as late as 158–160. The second *Apology* followed this directly, and the *Dialogue* came last of the three.

The question as to Justin's position towards the

gospel of John stands in connection with the gospel question in general in the case of Justin. According to Winer's researches in 1819, Olshausen's in 1823, and Hug's, it seemed to be decided that he knew and used our canonical gospels, and De Wette in 1848 still expressed himself thus. In 1832 Credner granted at least the knowledge of the canonical gospels, but added a gospel of Peter, from which latter almost all the quotations are borrowed. Bindemann wrote against this in 1842. Schwegler, however, in his *Sub-Apostolic Age*, 1846, would not hear of the canonical gospels at all, but only of a gospel of Peter or of the Hebrews. Semisch refuted him in 1848, proving thoroughly that the four canonical gospels were known by Justin. As a result of this, concessions were the order of the day. Zeller, in 1848, yielded at least the gospel of Luke, though the gospel of the Hebrews formed the chief source for Justin. On the other hand, Hilgenfeld, in 1850, found the gospel of Matthew, though he traced the citations mostly to the gospel of Peter, which it was alleged stood between the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and was the foundation for the gospel of Mark. In 1854, however, he reached the canonical Mark, which was to be put before Luke. Thus, up to 1854, the three synoptists were acknowledged in Justin as at least included under his *Memoirs*, that is, gospels. Baur's objection, in 1853, that Justin has not named any of them, cannot avail, because the point is not the naming, but the knowing and acknowledging. In 1860 Credner repeated his earlier concession: 'Justin certainly knew and must have known our canonical gospels, but he used them either only a little, or not all directly.'¹⁰⁶ He does not exclude even the gospel of John, at least not without qualification, to Volkmar's unmitigable chagrin.¹⁰⁷ Now it is true that Credner

takes the book that lay at the base of Justin's quotations to be merely a harmony of the gospels, collected out of the *Memoirs* 'after the mind and spirit of Peter,' whence, too, it was called the gospel of Peter. And, indeed, this is the same harmony which was in abundant use under the name of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, until it was at a later date crowded out by an orthodox harmony of the gospels, also bearing Tatian's name.¹⁰⁸ In the first place, this is of no great avail for our question. In the second place, this hypothesis also presupposes the existence of the gospel of John. And in the third place, the hypothesis is utterly untenable, for Justin speaks not only of *εὐαγγέλιον* ('gospel') but also of *εὐαγγέλια* ('gospels'), and thus uses the singular in the same comprehensive sense in which it is constantly used for the *εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον* ('fourfold gospel'). And since he makes Trypho the Jew speak thus, it could not have been merely a harmony of Justin's own. Moreover, it could not be completely identical with the one of Tatian, because Tatian's had struck out the genealogies and the descent of Jesus from David, and had Docetic elements. Justin, on the contrary, taught the former, and had not the latter. Besides, the gospel of Peter, which Justin mentions once,¹⁰⁹ is Mark's gospel, named after its voucher, Peter. Hence, when we find quotations from our gospels in Justin, we do not need to pass by these gospels and conjecture a gospel harmony, which is authenticated by no positive testimony. And what is true of the gospels in general is true of the fourth gospel. Because Justin knew it, he has also used it. Even Scholten cannot help granting, at least for our three synoptic gospels, that Justin knew them under the name of 'Memoirs,' and attributed to them an apostolic origin.¹¹⁰ But this is denied only the more decidedly for the fourth gospel. Volkmar reached this con-

clusion in 1853, and stayed there:¹¹¹ 'Justin's Logos doctrine, and his nature in general, stand earlier than the Logos gospel.' This position Scholten, in 1867, holds fast to obstinately.

Before we go into this question more closely, a few general remarks need to be made. Justin, as is well known, names his gospel sources *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων* ('memoirs of the apostles'), probably following Xenophon's *Memoirs of Socrates*, though with the difference that he puts the genitive subjectively, and understands thereby, 'sketches of the apostles written from memory'¹¹² [sketches written down from memory by the apostles]. This name is peculiar to him, for he says himself that they are commonly called gospels, *ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια*.¹¹³ There are therefore several books by different authors. When he wants to make it more exact, he says: *ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι* ('in the memoirs, which I say were composed by His apostles and those who accompanied them').¹¹⁴ He makes this closer definition in mentioning the bloody sweat, which is found in Luke's gospel. This explains the addition; and the word *παρακολουθεῖν* ('to follow'), too, reminds us of Luke i. 3. According to this, he is acquainted with and uses gospels, some of which were composed by apostles and others by companions of apostles. They are not anonymous books. They are provided with statements denoting their authors. Nor are they books that he had picked out at will from a richer literature. On the contrary, as he says at another time¹¹⁵ when describing the Christian worship, they were books which were read in the public church meetings alternately with the prophetic books of the Old Testament, and therefore were gospels received by the Church. These were then well known. In the dialogue with Trypho, that

Jew appeals to the written gospel.¹¹⁶ Justin does not have to ask what book he means, whether perhaps one of the heretical gospels or the like. It was beyond question what he meant thereby. Therefore at that time there were gospels recognised by the Church, some written by apostles and some by apostles' companions. It is now generally agreed that the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke were among these. This fact is not touched by the circumstance that Justin relates a few features of gospel history which are not taken from these gospels. Supposing, however, that these three are there, one more apostolic gospel is necessary to make that characterizing of the gospels perfectly correct. Must this not have been the gospel of John? If it existed then, Justin must have been acquainted with it; and if he did not know it, it can hardly have existed. For Justin travelled too much, was too thoroughly conversant in, and was in too high degree a representative of, the Church of that day, for such a book to be unknown to him if it existed. Although Volkmar and Scholten wish to remain at 160, yet Zeller, as early as 1853, goes back to 150 and earlier, though 'in no case long before this point,'¹¹⁷ and Hilgenfeld to 140 and further. If it existed at that time, it cannot have been unknown to Justin. So we have the less reason to seek for other and artificial ways of explanation, when we find points of contact between him and the fourth gospel. They have declared the use of it impossible from internal grounds. They designated his tendency as Ebionite,¹¹⁸ at least Jewish-Christian,¹¹⁹ decidedly against Paul,¹²⁰ Chiliastic,¹²¹ and the like. But these declarations clash with the facts that lie open before us. Abundant allusions to Paul's doctrine and epistles are found in his writings.¹²² His treatment of the Old Testament law¹²³ rests on Paul's thoughts; that the

Christians, 'we,' from the heathen, have taken the place of Israel, have become the spiritual Israel, etc.¹²⁴ And his Christology, too, is far removed from being Ebionite or Jewish-Christian. Neither he nor the Church of his day is Ebionite. 'Justin in general stood at a distance from Jewish Christianity, as is shown by his decided, though tolerant, rejection of Ebionism, and by his Christology.'¹²⁵ Hence there is in this no hindrance for a recognition of the 'anti-Judaistic' gospel of John. When they conclude, from Justin's recognition of the 'Chiliastic' revelation, that it is impossible for him to have recognised the anti-Chiliastic gospel of John as apostolic,¹²⁶ they forget that they have no right to demand from him the same critical logic that modern critics use. For him, as for all the other teachers of the early church, who took both alike for sacred books of the apostle John's, these two books agreed with each other. We have to be satisfied with this alleged inconsistency in Irenæus, and why not in Justin too? Yet we begin our investigation independent of this.

In comparing Justin and the gospel of John, the general views of Justin, and above all his Logos doctrine, come first into view. Justin agrees with John in various essential points,—as in the personal pre-existence of the Logos, in the mediation of the creation of the world by the Logos, and in the absolute importance of the incarnate one. But, on the other hand, he brings into the lines drawn by the gospel of John a different fundamental idea. His Logos is not the Word in the sense of Scripture, but reason in the sense of philosophy. It is therefore natural that the special theological discussion, the distinction between the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικὸς* ('the Logos within and the Logos expressed') and what is therewith connected,¹²⁷ bears within itself elements that are foreign

to the fourth gospel and to the Sacred Scriptures in general. These are drawn from other combinations of thought—say from the Alexandrian religious philosophy. This is occasioned by an apologetical regard to extra-Christian opinions, as well as by a philosophical tendency in the author himself. In fact, Justin's importance and peculiarity lies in this uniting Christian thought with extra-Christian speculative elements.¹²⁸ We are here, then, on the ground of theological reflection. It has its base and premises in Scripture (fourth gospel) and Christian belief on the one side, and in worldly science on the other. It is making the thing stand on its head to say that the Logos doctrine in Justin is but growing into existence, and that the fourth gospel contains the ripe fruits of that growth.¹²⁹ The same may be said for Scholten's declaration, in 1867, that the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos stands at an earlier stage of development in Justin than in the fourth evangelist, so that the latter used the former, and not the reverse. To judge in this way is to have lost, or at least to renounce, all critical power of distinguishing earlier and later stages. As long as sound criticism exists, it will make the stage of directness go before that of reflection. And as long as impartiality exists, it will find in Justin, as compared with the fourth gospel, reflection and not directness. If we neglect these stragglers, vainly fighting for a lost battle, the right relation of John's and Justin's Logos doctrines may be looked upon as at present commonly recognised. We see in Justin the founder of a science of belief,¹³⁰ and that by his uniting the general religious with the philosophical spirit, especially in his Logos doctrine. This is accordingly utterly unintelligible without John's gospel, and as little, on the other hand, without the Alexandrian religious philosophy. It follows, therefore, from

this that Justin knew the gospel of John, and that it was influential upon his fundamental theological views and form of doctrine. Thus he touches the fourth gospel in many ways. The fact that he does not always or even in general call Christ the Logos¹³¹ can be no serious objection, for it is well known that the fourth gospel does that much less than Justin. The circumstance that to him 'the Logos appears still simply in the form of the portrait of Christ in the synoptists,'¹³² is an odd proof against his use of the gospel of John. He combined the two with each other because he held them to agree with each other, just as the whole Church did in joining the fourth to the first three gospels. Hilgenfeld,¹³³ looking at Justin's *ὁ λόγος μορφωθείς καὶ ἄνθρωπος γινόμενος καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κληθείς* ('the Logos received a form, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ'),¹³⁴ feels the absence of John's *σὰρξ ἐγένετο* ('became flesh'). And Scholten¹³⁵ thinks that 'the Logos becomes not flesh, but man.' What is the point of such objections? Is not the one statement the same as the other? Besides, at another passage in Justin we read of *σαρκοποιηθῆναι* ('to be made flesh')¹³⁶ or *σωματοποιεῖσθαι* ('to be made body').¹³⁷ A reference to John is unmistakable in the words *τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε* ('He created all things by him at the beginning').¹³⁸ Again, *προϋπήρχεν υἱὸς . . . θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γεγέννηται ἄνθρωπος* ('He was at first the Son . . . being God, and was born man'), is evidently a simple reproduction of John's contrast: *θεὸς ἦν . . . καὶ . . . σὰρξ ἐγένετο* ('was God . . . and . . . was made flesh').¹³⁹ When Justin appeals for the Godhead and pre-existence of Christ not merely to the prophetic word but to the self-witness of Christ,¹⁴⁰ he must have had a gospel which contained such self-witness from Jesus. What could this have been but John's? We know of no other. The supposition of one that is lost, which

was similar to John's, like Zeller's fiction¹⁴¹ that it was a recension of the gospel of the Hebrews, is too arbitrary to need refutation. It is objected, indeed, that if Justin had known the fourth gospel he must have used it more. His failure to cite passages like viii. 58 is said to prove that he did not know this gospel, or at least did not hold it to be apostolic.¹⁴² But when his whole view is based on the fourth gospel, the decision cannot rest upon the quotation of single passages. And what right have we to demand certain particular passages? Have we the whole literature of Justin? Why, the more at home he was in the sphere of thought of the fourth gospel, just so much the easier was it for him to use it in the freer form of accords and reminiscences. This, too, was in a measure demanded by the nature of the fourth gospel; while the greater variety of the synoptists, both in historical material and in single firmly impressed sayings, especially of moral contents, made a much richer quotation of details possible. Hence it is that the gospel tradition in Justin is, as to details, determined much more by the synoptists than by John. It is just the same to-day. We, like Justin, if we wish to sketch the principles and doctrines of Christian morality, pay much more regard to the sermon on the mount than to John's gospel. There is much less occasion to quote this gospel in comparison with the first three. On the other hand, the higher doctrinal view of Christ is determined especially by the fourth gospel. This is all as true for our day as it was for Justin's. And yet particular quotations are not lacking in him; and that not alone in the Christology, as the above-quoted passages show, but also in other places.

The *προσκυνούμεν λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες* ('we worship, honouring in word and truth')¹⁴³ recalls John iv. 24 unmistakably. The statement that Christ healed

those *ἐκ γενετῆς ποιηρούς* ('suffering from their birth')¹⁴⁴ recalls John ix. The apology cites Zech. xii. 10–12 in the form peculiar to John's gospel, and different from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint text: ¹⁴⁵ *ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν* ('they shall look on Him whom they pierced'). When Hilgenfeld appeals to the ten manuscripts of the Septuagint that read as John does,¹⁴⁶ he fails to see what lies before his very eyes, namely, that the text of these manuscripts was changed by Christian hands to suit the New Testament. This often occurred.¹⁴⁷ Justin agrees with John xix. 37 more closely than with Revelation i. 7. Moreover, the same citation is repeated twice in the dialogue with Trypho.¹⁴⁸ The following citation, which has been much discussed, is of especial weight:—*καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερόν πᾶσιν ἐστίν* ('for Christ also said, Unless ye be born again, ye may not enter into the kingdom of heaven. But it is clear to all that it is impossible for those once born to go into the wombs of those who bare them').¹⁴⁹ The relationship with John iii. cannot be mistaken; ver. 3: *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*; ver. 5: *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*¹⁵⁰ (3. 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' 5. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God'). It is true that there are differences. Justin changes the singular to the plural. But that is of no consequence, and is occasioned by the more general relation which he gives to the words; in John they are spoken to a particular person. Justin leaves out *ἀμὴν* etc. ('verily' etc.).

But Volkmar himself ¹⁵¹ has declared that this is nothing, and he is right. They lay great stress, however, on Justin's βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ('kingdom of heaven'), in contrast with John's τοῦ θεοῦ ('of God'). We do not urge the fact that the Sinaitic manuscript reads τῶν οὐρανῶν. That may be an alteration; but that form was the more familiar from the synoptic use of language. Besides, the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Ephrem, which knew John's gospel, quote in that form. Justin has οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε ('ye cannot enter'); John, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν ('cannot see'). But the *Constitutions* have οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ ('he may not enter'); Ephrem has οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ ('he may not see'); and the Clementina change off with 'non introibit' ('he shall not enter'). Finally, Justin uses ἀναγεννηθῆναι; John, ἄνωθεν γεννηθῆναι. Some have laid great weight on this difference. But what if Justin understood John's expression in that sense? It is well known that the exegetical meaning of ἄνωθεν ('above' or 'again') is still contested. Credner ¹⁵² declares that 'the expressions ἀναγεννηθῆναι and γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν are perfectly alike in meaning.' Moreover, Justin treats of ἀναγέννησις ('regeneration') in this whole section, and wants to bring a Scripture proof for it. And this was the term used in the Church. How can anybody say, ¹⁵³ as Volkmar does, that Justin must have read the word ἀναγεννηθῆναι in his gospel sources? The *Apostolic Constitutions* have: λέγει ὁ κύριος· ἐὰν μὴ τις βαπτισθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, κτλ. ¹⁵⁴ Must they have read βαπτισθῇ in their gospel sources? They are just speaking of baptism, and therefore they cite thus. And in like manner Justin is treating of the new birth, the significance and effect of baptism, and hence cites as he does. They have made the same assertion for the Clementina as for Justin. ¹⁵⁵ The former have this quotation in a form exactly like Justin's. Zeller, Schwegler, Baur, and Hilgenfeld

have vied with each other in declaring that 'a use of John in the Clementina [and therefore also in Justin] . . . is out of the question.'¹⁵⁶ But now the conclusion of the Clementina that Dressel has found, and which contains the detailed citation from John ix., gives the lie to these confident declarations. At the same time, also, the foundation is taken away from the denial in Justin's case. Hence Volkmar owns up to 'the possibility in itself, or abstractly,' of a free use by Justin of the passage from John. But 'once means here, in Justin's case, never.'¹⁵⁷ This is not so. That saying is as false here as it generally is. Besides, there is a use which by no means occurs simply 'once.'

They made too stout a demand on our belief when they assured us that Justin's passage was drawn from Matt. xviii. 3, or at least stood nearer to this word of the Lord than to the one in John.¹⁵⁸ Is it because we find in Matthew οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ('ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven')? But what decides is the word about the new birth in connection with baptism, and that very thing does not come in at all in Matthew. He says: ἐὰν μὴ στραφῇτε καὶ γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδιά ('except ye be converted, and become as little children'). Is there any need of proving that this is different from the new birth, and has nothing to do with baptism? What, however, shall we say, finally, to the declaration to which Hilgenfeld rose? He affirms that Justin's quotation does not contain even 'a likeness to the text of John.'¹⁵⁹ For us, that takes away all possibility of discussion. The addition, *οἷ δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον*, etc. ('for it is impossible,' etc.), is decisive in this question. This reflection goes back so evidently to the well-known and often-discussed answer of Nicodemus, that it can only be explained thereby, and it has come into no one's mind or mouth in any other

way. Even Zeller has acknowledged that a relation between the two texts must be admitted.¹⁶⁰ Yet he, with Baur, assumes that the gospel of the Hebrews was the common source of both. This is a fancy that comes to grief at Jerome's report concerning that gospel. According to Jerome, the gospel of the Hebrews was related to Matthew's, and not to John's, as the very nature of the thing would demand.

As Justin's words about baptism go back to John iii., so his declarations about the Lord's supper recall what Jesus says in John vi. about eating and drinking His *σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα* ('flesh and blood').¹⁶¹

What the dialogue with Trypho says about Jesus as the *φῶς* ('light') which was sent from God to men,¹⁶² or as the true passover lamb,¹⁶³ is related to John's gospel. It would, however, taken by itself, not suffice for proof, and only has weight when joined to what we have elsewhere learned as to the connection between Justin and the fourth gospel. This connection cannot be mistaken in the declaration as to Christ's incarnation,¹⁶⁴ which touches upon John i. 13: *ὡς τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γεγεννημένου ἀλλ' ἐκ θελήματος θεοῦ* ('as of the blood of Him who was born, not of human seed, but of the will of God'). So, too, the words,¹⁶⁵ *ἵνα καὶ θεὸν ἄνωθεν προελθόντα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον γνωρίσητε* ('that ye may know [Him] both God come from above, and man born among men'), recall the repeated declaration of Jesus concerning himself, that he was come from God, from above, etc. Nor can we fail to recognise a reminiscence of John i. 20 ff. in the words,¹⁶⁶ *οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπελάμβανον αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν· πρὸς οὓς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβόα· οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος* ('men supposed that he [the Baptist] was the Christ. To whom he cried, "I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying"'). No other of our gospels has these words.

The apocryphal features of Justin's, as to the appearance of fire at the baptism of Jesus, are not attributed by him to his gospel sources. But he certainly appeals to these sources for the communication of the Holy Ghost. Hence they have no right to betake themselves again, say, to the gospel of the Hebrews, to find those words of John's. As is well known, it is peculiar to the fourth gospel to designate the resurrection of Jesus as an act of his own *ἐξουσία* ('power'), John x. 18. Justin's words as to the resurrection fit that: ¹⁶⁷ *ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει* ('which He has, having received it from his Father'). It reminds us of John iv. 10, 14, when Justin speaks of a *πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος* ('well of living water'), ¹⁶⁸ and of *τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ὕδωρ* ('the water of life'). ¹⁶⁹ In John x. 33 ff. Jesus goes back to Ps. lxxxii. 6 to justify His title of the Son of God; and Justin ¹⁷⁰ goes to the same psalm to justify the calling Christians *τέκνα θεοῦ* ('children of God'). Even Zeller ¹⁷¹ is inclined to think this a striking circumstance.

These references will suffice to prove Justin's dependence on the fourth gospel. Justin's conversion is hardly to be put later than 130. Therefore, at the middle and in the second quarter of the second century, John's gospel belonged to the generally known and recognised gospels. Justin does not, indeed, name it, but he reckons it among those composed by apostles and companions of apostles. If we may conclude from this that the gospels in general were not anonymous, then the gospel of John was not. And it is, besides, certain that it did not pass nameless. Its very name, which traced it to the honoured apostle, secured for it general recognition. We have no token that it was ever known by any other name. If it counted as a church authority at that date, it counted as such under John's name. This of itself

does not prove that it had a right to bear that name, but the farther we have to go back in time, the more impossible it becomes that its name should stand in contradiction to its origin.

A book exists under Justin's name called *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως* ('On the Resurrection'). This coincides with the fourth gospel unmistakeably in several passages. At the beginning¹⁷³ we find: οὐ [sc. τοῦ θεοῦ] γενόμενος υἱὸς ὁ λόγος ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, σάρκα φορέσας, ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα μηνύων, διδούς ἡμῖν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ζωὴν αἰώνιον ('being whose [that is, God's] Son, the Logos came to us clothed in flesh, showing both himself and the Father, giving unto us in himself the resurrection from the dead, and after that eternal life'). That recalls not merely John's Logos in general, but especially John xi. 25. The next passage¹⁷³ is undeniably taken from John xx. 27: καὶ ψηλαφᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἡλῶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπεδείκνυε ('and he permitted them to touch him, and showed them the marks of the nails in his hands'). And the next passage¹⁷⁴ plainly touches John xiv. 2: βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξαι καὶ τοῦτο (καθὼς εἶρηκεν, ἐν οὐρανῷ τὴν κατοίκησιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν) ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ σαρκὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν ('wishing to show this also, as He declared that our dwelling was in heaven, that it is not impossible for flesh to ascend into heaven'). It is true that Justin's authorship of the book named has been denied. In our opinion this denial rests upon insufficient grounds. Both doctrine and method are entirely like Justin's. At any rate, the similarity between its way of treating the Docetæ¹⁷⁵ and the Ignatian epistles' treatment of them, shows that it must in no wise be put later than the second century, and pretty well back in that, even if the time of the composition cannot be more exactly fixed.

Epistle to Diognetus.

The letter to Diognetus is certainly not from Justin's hand. It is earlier than Justin, rather than later. Overbeck, indeed, wanted to refer it to the fourth century, to the 'time after Constantine.'¹⁷⁶ Zahn¹⁷⁷ admitted the date 250-310. Keim¹⁷⁸ goes back to about 180, and Lipsius¹⁷⁹ joins him; but the reference found to Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, is much too precarious.¹⁸⁰ Hilgenfeld holds fast to Marcus Aurelius' time.¹⁸¹ A surer assumption is, that the remark¹⁸² as to the enmity of the Jews against the Christians points to the time before the destruction of Barkochbas, 135.¹⁸³ Hence we cannot stop at 150, with Ritschl and Wittichen,¹⁸⁴ or at 140, with Credner,¹⁸⁵ but must go still farther back. Ewald¹⁸⁶ puts the letter between 120 and 130, Nitzsch¹⁸⁷ between 110 and 125. This letter treats of the divine Logos, the revelation of whom brought to His disciples and to the world the higher truth, and the knowledge of whom imparts the higher insight, and raises above the stage of the Old Testament legality. The whole treatment of this presupposes unmistakeably¹⁸⁸ both John's gospel and Paul's writings. The eleventh chapter¹⁸⁹ is full of reminiscences of John; but we pass it, because it belongs to a later date. The other traces of John are enough to confirm the observation just made. The words:¹⁹⁰ ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡγάπησε . . . πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἷς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτὸν ('for God loved the men . . . unto whom He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He promised the kingdom in heaven, and will give [it] to them that loved Him'), evidently rest on John iii. 16, and χριστιανοὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ('Christians are not of the world')¹⁹¹ at least recalls John xv. 19.

Acts of Paul and Thekla.

The *Acts of Paul and Thekla*,¹⁹² a book written about the middle of the second century, refer us to Asia Minor. There is no ground for doubt¹⁹³ as to the genuineness of this book as it now lies before us.¹⁹⁴ Although its purpose gives it little occasion to enter into gospel history, it betrays a decided dependence on John's sphere of thought. Look at κόσμος,¹⁹⁵ ζῆν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας¹⁹⁶ ('world,' 'life for ever'), John vi. 51, 58. There are many other such cases. The words of Paul to Thekla,¹⁹⁷ ὁ καιρὸς αἰσχρὸς . . . μὴ ἄλλος σε πειρασμὸς λήψεται χείρων τοῦ πρώτου ('the time is evil . . . lest another temptation shall seize thee, worse than the first'), are plainly borrowed from John v. 14.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* does not belong to John's sphere of thought. The author seems to have grown up in Judaism, and still thinks Jewishly in more than one respect.¹⁹⁸ Hence it is the more important that he, nevertheless, in not a few passages, touches John's gospel or the first epistle of John; this latter being also a proof for the gospel. Εὐκόπως αὐτὰς [τὰς ἐντολάς] φυλάξεις καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται σκληραί¹⁹⁹ ('Thou wilt keep them [the commandments] easily, and they will not be hard') recalls John xiv. 21, xv. 10 ff., 1 John v. 3. Ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν· αὕτη μία εἰσοδὸς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριον²⁰⁰ ('And the gate is the Son of God: this is the only entrance unto the Lord') recalls John x. 7, xiv. 6. And δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον ὃν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ²⁰¹ ('having given them the law, which he received from his Father') recalls John xvii. 8. These, and like passages, contain coincidences that can hardly

be called accidental. Keim, too,²⁰² says that the Shepherd is 'visibly acquainted with the first epistle, while, at the same time, the whole terminology often reminds us of the gospel.'²⁰³ According to common acceptance, this book arose under Bishop Pius, 140-150. Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, and Volkmar put it, say, a score of years earlier. And Zahn²⁰⁴ goes as far as to the end of the first century (?).

Polycarp.

The only thing we have from Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, is his letter to the Philippians. Had we his other letters, mentioned by Irenæus,²⁰⁵ we should possess more material for a sure decision. Still that letter is enough. It is true he mentions the apostle Paul, and not the apostle John; but then he is writing to a church that stood in personal union with the former, and not with the latter. Moreover, the letter does not contain any regular quotation from the gospel. But the words: *πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν*²⁰⁶ ('every one that confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is antichrist'), are so plainly taken from 1 John iv. 3, that it gives the impression of an evasion when they say that this is a general sentence, which was current among the orthodox of the second century.²⁰⁷ Volkmar felt that that was forced; but his help is still more desperate since he makes 1 John dependent on Polycarp.²⁰⁸ Passing all other considerations, the whole character of Polycarp's letter forbids this. It is full of citations and reminiscences of Paul and Peter. Why should the reverse of this be the case with John?²⁰⁹ But, with the first epistle, we at the same time have proof for the gospel. Both books stand

or fall together. There were earlier attempts to refer the two books to different authors, and to make the author of the gospel, against all appearances, dependent on the author of the epistle; but they have gradually begun to give these up.

Of course the shortest way is to declare Polycarp's letter not genuine.²¹⁰ But Irenæus' testimony is too weighty against that.²¹¹ The references to the Ignatian letters,²¹² or to Ignatius himself,²¹³ are no proof for the contrary. Even if these passages were interpolated,²¹⁴ the rest would stand fast; and even if other interpolations of an alleged hierarchical character be assumed, our passage would not be touched.²¹⁵ If those passages about Ignatius be genuine, the letter is to be put back to the time of Ignatius' death, and therefore to the beginning of the second century. If they are not genuine, and the letter belongs to the middle of the second century, yet Polycarp himself, as we have seen, reaches far enough back into John's time to be secure from the danger of letting a book be palmed off on him as John's when the apostle had nothing to do with it.

Papias.

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, was Polycarp's contemporary. We shall have to return to him again at the question as to John's residence in Asia Minor. Eusebius reports that Papias used 1 John (and 1 Peter). We have no right to doubt this statement, simply because we can no longer verify it. If Papias, however, used the epistle, he then knew the gospel too. But Eusebius says nothing about that! Just because he held it to be unnecessary to bring testimony for the gospel. Besides, in the case of Polycarp's letter, he only mentions the quotations

from 1 John and 1 Peter, and yet it is full of quotations from Paul's epistles. He does not mention Papias' testimony for the Revelation, and yet we know that Papias was acquainted with it, and valued it highly. Thus we see that that silence of Eusebius proves nothing, while his communication with regard to 1 John serves also as proof for the gospel. How can they say that Papias has been silent as to the fourth gospel, and finally conclude that he 'possibly even censured' it 'publicly'?²¹⁶ That is poetry, not proof. As Papias' Expositions or Words of the Lord are lost, we have only the few words of his that Eusebius has kept for us,²¹⁷ especially from Papias' introduction to his work. His designating Christ as *αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια* ('the truth itself') is like John. And the designation of the Christian doctrine as *ἐντολή* ('commandment') is like John, and characteristically so. It occurs in the gospel eleven times, and in the first epistle fourteen times, and always means the will of God in the New Testament. On the other hand, it occurs but fourteen times in the whole literature of Paul, and that exclusively in the sense of the Old Testament law. In John it is dependent on his opposition to the antinomianism of his time. Steitz has found traces of John's gospel in the order in which Papias enumerates the apostles as to whose statements he made inquiry.²¹⁸ But let that pass. The fact that Papias mentions John last in that list, and with Matthew, is explained most easily thus: he wished to put both evangelists among the apostles, but he names them last because he there has to do with his inquiries by word of mouth. Irenæus speaks frequently of elders, to whom he traces back his traditions. There are several. They make a little circle. Polycarp and Papias belong to it. Among other things which he owed to those elders, he quotes²¹⁹ a

singular explanation of John xiv. 2, as to the 'many mansions' in his 'Father's house.' Therefore, in that circle to which Papias belonged,²²⁰ they had the fourth gospel, and busied themselves with it.²²¹ The same result comes from the notice of Irenæus that Jesus was fifty years old. He refers this likewise to that circle. It is, however, a misunderstanding of John viii. 56 f., and so is a proof of their acquaintance with and study of this gospel. Papias belonged to the first half of the second century. His birth falls in the first century. Zahn²²² puts it at about the year 80. His death, according to Steitz, occurred between 165 and 167; according to Keim, between 161 and 163. But if the chronology of Polycarp be thrown back ten years, we shall have to go farther back here too. Whether he was a pupil of the apostle himself, we leave undecided for the present. In any case, he was near the apostle's time. Eusebius, it is true, puts Papias at Trajan's time,²²³ but denies his being John's disciple.²²⁴ Irenæus declares that he was John's disciple, and so do the other Church writers, who knew Papias' work.²²⁵ The question would be fully decided if we could rely upon a notice in the preface to a manuscript of the gospels.²²⁶ '*Evangelium Johannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto sicut Papias nomine Hierapolitanus, discipulus Johannis carus, in exotericis (Aberle reads "exegeseos"; Hilgenfeld, "exegeticis") i.e. in extremis quinque libris retulit. Descripsit vero evangelium dictante Johanne recte*' ('The gospel of John was published and given to the Church by John while still alive, as Papias of Hierapolis, a dear disciple of John's, relates in his esoterical (or "exegetical") books, that is, in the last five books. He, indeed, wrote the gospel down, John dictating correctly'). The manuscript is of a late date, not older than the ninth

century; but the preface itself, in Tischendorf's opinion, is older than Jerome. According to these words, the writer knew Papias' work, for we must doubtless understand 'exegetical' instead of 'esoterical.' The last remark is, of course, by the writer, and not quoted from Papias. Thus, also, we read in Corderius' *Catena*: ὕστατος τούτων [πάντων τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν] Ἰωάννης ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱὸς μετακληθεὶς πᾶν γερᾶλέου αὐτοῦ γενομένου . . . κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ αἵρέσεων ἀναφυσῶν δεινῶν ὑπαγόρευσε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῷ αὐτοῦ μαθητῇ Παπίᾳ Εὐβιάτῳ [read, ἐπισκόπῳ] τῷ Ἱεραπολίτῃ, κτλ. ('last of these [of all the evangelists], John, called the son of thunder, being far advanced in years, . . . dictated his gospel against the frightful heresies springing up at that time, to his²²⁷ disciple Papias, Eubiotos [read, "bishop"] of Hierapolis,' etc.). But the reference of that gospel manuscript to Papias' work is too uncertain for us to base decisive conclusions on it.

Ignatius.

It is generally acknowledged that the letters of Ignatius in the longer Greek recension are not genuine. And Zahn has also proved the three Syriac letters to be a later compendium.²²⁸ That, however, does not decide the question, whether or not the seven letters in the shorter Greek recension are genuine in the form in which we have them. Keim²²⁹ and Krenkel²³⁰ declared these letters 'collectively and severally not genuine.' Yet Zahn has at least raised their genuineness to a higher degree of probability. The earlier discussions are combined by Uhlhorn,²³¹ and the decision brought nearly in favour of the genuineness. If the letters are genuine, they are not to be put later than 110. There are in these letters

various, though not numerous, coincidences with John's gospel. Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, and Volkmar²³² have acknowledged traces of the acquaintance with the fourth gospel. It is true that they put the Ignatian letters much later.²³³ But these are two different questions, that must be kept apart from each other. We cannot fail²³⁴ to note the accord with John iii. 8, when we read: ²³⁵ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄν. οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει ('the Spirit doth not err, being from God; for He knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth'). The words: ²³⁶ ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω ὅς ἐστιν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβίδ, καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὃ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος ('I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David, and I desire as a drink His blood, which is love incorruptible'), plainly rest on John vi. 33, 51 ff. That is the only way to explain the bold curtness of the expression. The Syrian recension of the three Ignatian letters has this passage also. Lipsius²³⁷ tries in vain, against Bunsen, to escape the reference to John vi., so as to prove, with Baur,²³⁸ that the Syrian version, which they pretend is older, does not know John's gospel. Christ would not have been designated so confidently as the λόγος αἰδῖος ('eternal Logos')²³⁹ against a heretical Logos doctrine, if there had not been a Scripture authority for that at hand.²⁴⁰ The words: οὐδεὶς πιστὶν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἁμαρτάνει, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖ ('no one who professes faith, sins; or, having obtained love, hates'),²⁴¹ refer unmistakeably to 1 John iii. 9, 13 ff. Zahn urges besides,²⁴² various particulars of the Ignatian use of language, which can be most conveniently explained by John's gospel. See, for example, the constant ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος· τούτου ('the ruler of this age'),²⁴³ in comparison with the phrase peculiar to John, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ('the ruler of

this world'), in John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11. The fact that Ignatius lays stress upon the Godhead of Christ, and the form in which he does it, remind us of John. See *ὁ θεός μου* ('my God'),²⁴⁴ as compared with John xx. 28; and *τοῦ μόνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* ('His only Son'),²⁴⁵ as compared with John's *μονογενής* ('only-begotten').

They commonly find in the Ignatian letters a decidedly Gentile-Christian, Pauline tendency.²⁴⁶ But these contain, at the same time, undeniably Johannian elements,²⁴⁷ and betoken a later development of the Pauline tendency, as in the letter of Polycarp. Other interests ruled the Church then, because other tasks were set for her. Yet the silence as to John in the letters to the Ephesians and to Polycarp may appear strange. We can find a slight allusion to John²⁴⁸ in the letter to the Ephesians if we read the plural, as most manuscripts do: *οἱ καὶ ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνήνεσαν* ('who always agreed with the apostles'). Why should he mention him expressly? If he had been a disciple of John's, we might have expected it. But this discipleship is a mistake, which Jerome spread abroad.²⁴⁹ If Ignatius, personally, was distant from John, he had so much the less occasion to speak of him by name. As for the rest, we shall have to return to this point when we reach the question of the apostle's residence at Ephesus. We may, however, combine with passages from or accords with John, in the Ignatian letters, that interesting passage in the letter to the Philippians.²⁵⁰ Ignatius is telling briefly about a dispute he had with his opponents. He speaks of New Testament records, which are called *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* ('the gospel'), by way of apposition. And then, just as the later church does, he cuts the exegetical discussion short by appealing to the living tradition. Hence there was at that time a written *εὐαγγέλιον*, an original account (*ἀρχεῖα*, 'archives') of the message of

salvation, to which Ignatius could refer. The errorists tried to explain this 'gospel' exegetically to suit themselves.²⁵¹ The church teachers appeal from this to the living tradition, as Ignatius does here, or collect apostolic traditions, to secure the right understanding of the Lord's words, as Papias does. If there were written gospels at that day, we shall have to think of the coincidences of Ignatius with the fourth gospel as mediated by writing.

The Letter of Barnabas.

The so-called letter of Barnabas is perhaps younger than the Ignatian letters. The time of composition is disputed. As a rule, it has been put, as by Tischendorf, Lipsius, Keim, and Hefele, under Hadrian, at 120 or 125. Hug and Lücke say the beginning of the second century; Hilgenfeld and Ewald say under Nerva, 96-98; Wieseler says under Domitian, 81-96; and Weizsäcker in Vespasian's time, 69-79. Wieseler's and Riggenbach's²⁵² supposition, that the letter was written at the end of Domitian's time, about 96, has the greatest probability in its favour.²⁵³

It is well known that this letter cites Matthew's gospel as *γραφή* ('Scriptures'; *γέγραπται*, 'it is written'). Is it acquainted with the fourth gospel? Keim²⁵⁴ finds that this letter's world of ideas coincides in general and in particular with that of the gospel of John, to such an extent that it is necessary to suppose them to be connected. Holtzmann²⁵⁵ has followed up the points of contact between the two more closely. But they must not carry a good thing too far. Keim is entirely too sharp-sighted when he thinks²⁵⁶ that the author of the letter does not venture a direct, bold quotation, and that he studiously avoids certain

doctrines of the written gospel. There is nothing to be seen of such an intention, unless a body is determined to see it. The truth is, that the letter repeatedly agrees with the gospel, and yet in such a way that we cannot be certain whether we are to suppose a real use of it or not. Riggenbach²⁵⁷ denies such use, and Wittichen affirms it.²⁵⁸ Still, even passages like ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί²⁵⁹ ('He came in the flesh'); ἤμελλεν ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν²⁶⁰ ('He was about to appear in the flesh, and to dwell among us'); Μωσῆς ποιεῖ (ὄφιν) τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ²⁶¹ ('Moses makes [the serpent] a type of Jesus') (καινὸς νόμος, 'new law'²⁶²); Ἀβραὰμ . . . ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν²⁶³ ('Abraham . . . having looked forward in spirit to Jesus'), do not suffice to prove a use of the gospel.

Close of Chapter xxi.

The letter of Barnabas reaches to the borders of the first century. In the nature of the thing, we cannot follow the traces of the gospel any farther back. We must go to the gospel itself; it contains the oldest testimony for this book in the last words of the twenty-first chapter. These designate the apostle John most clearly as the author of the book. They certainly are not from the author, but from another hand. The question is, whom they were written by, and when were they written. Krenkel, indeed,²⁶⁴ thinks they are not older than Theophilus of Antioch, about 180. And Keim and Strauss²⁶⁵ likewise take them to have been written towards the end of the second century. Of course, in this case, they have nothing new to tell us. But how do they know they are so late? If they are an addition only of that date, what is the sense in it? Bleek²⁶⁶ is right in emphasiz-

ing the point that the explanatory word as to John's end would only be in place soon after his death, or even, if we may say so, while he was still living, and not several score of years later. Moreover, this early date for the addition is the only thing to explain the circumstance that it is in all the manuscripts. Wittichen adds to this argument²⁸⁷ others which I cannot adopt. He thinks that 2 Peter i. 14 plays on John xxi. 18. And as 2 Peter was written before 130, John xxi. must be still earlier. The account makes the leading of the Christian Church in the sense of a special privilege to be handed over to Peter, and therefore was written with a view to Christians of the West, and especially of the Roman church, 'into which, by that means, the author of the addition introduced the gospel.'²⁸⁸ I confess that I am not keen-sighted enough to see these purposes. They appear to clash with the simplicity of the account. Besides, the whole addition is intended, first of all, to put away a misunderstanding in relation to John. It is at least as careful about that as about the story of Peter's restoration. The facts that this testimony for the author is found in all the manuscripts, and as well in the translations of the second century, and that on the other hand there is no trace of its having been added at a later date, suffice to prove its age. The story in the Muratori Fragment,²⁸⁹ as to the confirmation of the gospel by Andrew and the others, is best understood as an explanation of the words, xxi. 24, *οἶδαμεν*, etc. ('we know,' etc.). Either xxi. 24 is from the author of the gospel, and he thereby designates himself expressly as the apostle John, the passage belonging then with the other self-witness of the evangelist, and being the most direct: Or it is from a strange hand; the contents in general, and in particular the change of the plural *οἶδαμεν* ('we know')

for the singular *γράφας* ('that wrote'), speak for this view. In this case it is a legitimation from one or more who had a right to give it. It would be an incredible heaping up of fictions to suppose that one who had no right to legitimate it should assume the appearance of such a right, in order to give testimony for the apostle as the author, when he had not been the author. If, then, the witness be warranted in testifying, we may perhaps—I say perhaps—infer from the present *μαρτυρῶν* ('that testifieth') that the apostle was still living at the time. We should then have in these words the oldest testimony for John's authorship of the gospel, and that from the very time of the apostle, and from men of authority. They were probably from the number of the Ephesian elders; and testimony was perhaps given as the gospel, which had been at first handed to the Ephesian church, was imparted to wider circles, with the addition of the twenty-first chapter.²⁷⁰

The Heading.

The consideration of the heading leads to the same result.²⁷¹ The headings of the gospels, *κατά*, etc. ('according to,' etc.), certainly do not belong to the authors themselves. We cannot say from what date they spring.²⁷² When Volkmar²⁷³ thinks that John's heading belongs about to the time 175, that is just his opinion, and nothing more. But even if the gospel did not bear that name on its brow at the very first, yet they still knew from the beginning from whose hands they received a gospel. These books did not rove around in the book-market as anonymous writings. Like the epistles, they were handed over by their authors to certain persons or churches, and were

from the first supported by the authority of these. On the ground of this knowledge, then, those who collected the gospels and put them together added the names of the authors in headings. We have, therefore, 'every cause to assume that they flow to us from entirely trustworthy sources.' The more a book was already in general use in the Church, the less could a feigned name be added at a later date. This obtains in full measure, as we have seen, for our gospel. Those collections, however, 'may very well have begun by the end of the first century, at a time when they could, with a little care and foresight, still learn the author's name quite certainly.' 'It would be stupid to suppose that this collection of our four gospels arose only at the time when the collection secured general recognition almost everywhere in the wide countries in which Christians lived, namely, about the middle of the second century.'⁷⁴

We have considered the testimony within the Church up to the bounds of the first century. Of course, in the nature of the thing, the later testimony is the more decided. But the general recognition which we find in the middle of the second century points necessarily farther back. That gives us a right to treat the indefinite testimony of the first years after the composition and publication of the gospel as real proof. True, the name is expressly mentioned only later. But, on the other hand, it stands sure that the gospel never existed under another name, or without a name. And the very oldest testimony, in the twenty-first chapter and in the heading, witnesses to the name. Add to that a point which Thiersch⁷⁵ lays stress on. The ancient church fought vigorously on other questions, as, for example, the Easter feast, but never had a debate about the chief books of the canon, about the custom of reading them in the churches, or

about the authority of even a single one of them. To this testimony of the Church we now bring the testimony of the literature outside of the Church.

¹ Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen, 1845, p. 31.

² Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, Berlin, 1871, p. 130.

³ Schwegler, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1842, p. 294.

⁴ Thiersch, *ut supra*, p. 33.

⁵ Thiersch, *Einige Worte über die Ächtheit der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen, 1846, p. 78.

⁶ Luthardt, *Justin der Märtyrer und das Evangelium Johannis. Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, 1856 vol. xxxi. p. 379.

⁷ See Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1845 'kann,' p. 599; 'es scheint,' p. 614; 'könnte,' p. 616; also pp 623, 627, 628; and 1847, p. 159.

⁸ Thiersch, *Versuch*, etc., *ut supra*, pp. 31-33.

⁹ Baur, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1857, p. 214 ff.

¹⁰ *Letter to Diognetus*, in Justin; *Opera*, ed. Otto, Jena, vol. ii. (1843) pp. 476-480.

¹¹ *Ibid.* cap. xii. p. 504.

¹² Clement, *Prima ad Corinthios*, xiii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, 2d edit. Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, p. 60.

¹³ Barnabas, cap. iv. *Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 136, column 3, line 43.

¹⁴ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1847, p. 171.

¹⁵ Volkmar, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1854, p. 447.

¹⁶ Rönisch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipzig, 1871, Preface, page v.

¹⁷ See Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxiv. 4 ff.; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 112 ff.

¹⁸ Clement in Eusebius, VI. xiv. 5; *ut supra*, vol. iv. p. 257.

¹⁹ Origen in Eusebius, VI. xxv. 13; *ut supra*, vol. iv. p. 272.

²⁰ See Weizsäcker, article 'Hegesippus,' in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. v. (1856) p. 649.

²¹ Εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκίμειτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI. xxv. 13; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871), p. 272.

²² Thiersch, *Versuch*, etc., *ut supra*, p. 342 ff.

²³ Justin, *Apologia*, i. 67; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. i. (1842) p. 270.

²⁴ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 5; *Opera*, edit. Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, vol. ii. p. 165.

²⁶ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI. xii. 3 f.; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 254 f.

²⁶ Thiersch, *Versuch z. Herstellung d. hist. Standp. f. d. Kritik d. N. T. Schriften*, Erlangen, 1845, p. 371 ff.

²⁷ Reuterdaahl, *De Fontibus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Eusebianæ*, Londini Gothorum, 1826, pp. 62–69.

²⁸ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI. xxxvi. 2 (3 ?); *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 278. See Semisch on *Eusebius von Cæsarea*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. iv. (1855) p. 235.

²⁹ Eusebius: Ταῦς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν διεγνώσμενον ἐκκλησίαις πρῶτον ἀνωμολογήσῃ. So also of the first epistle of John: Πρὸς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ ἡ προτέρα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν παρὰ τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναμφίλεκτος ὡμολόγηται. *Ut supra*, III. xxiv. 1, 2, 17; pp. 112, 115.

³⁰ Origen, *Commentarius in Evangelium Joannis*; *Opera*, edit. De la Rue, Paris, vol. iv. (1759) p. 6.

³¹ Οἱ δόκιμοι τραπίζονται οὐ πάντα ἀνέκριναν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τέσσαρα μόνον ἐπελίξαντο.

³² Τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα μόνον προκρίνει ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία. *Homil. in Luc.*; *Opera*, *ut supra*, vol. iii. (1740) p. 932, note.

³³ Rönisch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians aus den Schriften des letzteren möglichst vollständig rekonstruirt*, 1871.

³⁴ See Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 5; *Opera*, edit. Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, vol. ii. p. 165.

³⁵ Tertullian. See above, note 24.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 'Evang. instr.'; *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 2; *Opera*, edit. min. Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, p. 679. 'Apost. instr.'; *De Resurrectione Carnis*, cap. xxxix.; *Ibid.* p. 967.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 2; edit. min. p. 679; and iv. 5, p. 683.

³⁸ ['Instr. act.' (?). 'Instr. Pauli'; *Adversus Praxean*, cap. xxix.; *Ibid.* p. 1116; *De Resurrectione Carnis*, cap. xi. p. 968. The words do not stand just so in either case. Paul is spoken of, and then 'his' instrument is mentioned. 'Instr. Joannis'; *De Resurrectione Carnis*, cap. xxxviii.; *Ibid.* pp. 966, 967.—C.R.G.]

³⁹ Rönisch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 43.

⁴⁰ Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*; *Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Völkersprache*, Marburg and Leipzig, 1869.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 2.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 3.

⁴³ Augustine, 'In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.' *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. ii. cap. 15; edit. Bruder, Leipzig, 1865, p. 47.

⁴⁴ Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean*, cap. v.; *Opera*, edit. Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, vol. ii. p. 658: 'in usu est nostrorum.'

⁴⁶ See also Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* 4th edit. Leipzig, 1866, pp. 10 and 123.

⁴⁷ Tertullian says: 'Unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est.' *De Præscriptione Hereticorum*, cap. xxxvi.; edit. min. Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, p. 574.

⁴⁸ Hesse: *Das Muratorische Fragment neu untersucht und erklärt* von Dr. Friedrich Hermann Hesse, Giessen, 1873, p. 38 f.

⁴⁹ Adolf Harnack, *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1874, 3tes Heft, p. 462.

⁵⁰ See also on this point: Bleek, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 2d edit. Berlin, 1866, p. 639 ff.; Guericke, *Neutestamentliche Isagogik*, 3d edit. Leipzig, 1868, p. 563 ff.; and especially Hesse, *ut supra*, p. 48 f.

⁵¹ Against Credner, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanon*, Berlin, 1860, p. 158 ff.; *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1857, pp. 301, 303.

⁵² See above, page 6.

⁵³ Jerome, 'Quatuor evangeliorum in unum opus dicta compingens.' *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum seu de Viris Illustribus*, edit. Cyprianus, Frankfort and Leipzig (1722), p. 46. [As to date, Jerome says: 'sub imperatore M. Antonino Verō.'—C.R.G.]

⁵⁴ Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum*, lib. ii. 22 (31); edit. Otto, Jena, 1861, pp. 118, 120 (100 c): this is *Corpus Apologetarum Christianarum Sæculi Secundi*, vol. viii.

⁵⁵ Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1872 (Dutch edit. 1871), p. 109.

⁵⁶ Clement, *Stromata*, vii.; *Opera*, edit. Sylburg, Cologne, 1688, p. 706 a: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον and ὁ ἀπόστολος.

⁵⁷ See Clement, *Stromata*, iii.; *Ibid.* p. 465 d, where he says with reference to an alleged saying of Christ's: πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ρητὸν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίου ('In the first place, we have this saying, not in the four gospels handed down to us, but in the gospel according to the Egyptians').

⁵⁸ Παράδοσις τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων. See Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI. xiv. 1, 5; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 257.

⁵⁹ Eusebius, *ut supra*, VI. xiii.; p. 255 ff.

⁶⁰ Περὶ ἱανουὺ δηλοῖ ὡς ἔγγιστα τῇς τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδοχῆς. Eusebius, *ut supra*, VI. xiii. 8; p. 256.

⁶¹ Clement, *Quis dives salutem consequi possit*, cap. 42; edit. Segarius, Utrecht, 1816, pp. 110, 113, 114. Eusebius,

Historia Ecclesiastica, III. xxiii. 13-19; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) pp. 110-112.

⁶⁵ Eusebius, *ut supra*, VI. xiv. 7; p. 258: τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἔσχατον συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικά ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις διδῆλωται, προτραπίντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον. (Clement says 'that John, last of all, seeing that the bodily things were presented in the gospels, urged by his friends and inspired by the Spirit, made a spiritual gospel'.)

⁶⁶ Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. xx. 4-8; pp. 226, 227.

⁶⁷ Ziegler, *Des Irenæus Lehre von der Autorität der Schrift, der Tradition, und der Kirche*, Berlin, 1868, p. 6. This is attached to the *Jahresbericht über das Königl. Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium*.

⁶⁸ Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, 1ter Theil. *Die patristische Periode*, Berlin, 1870, p. 121.

⁶⁹ If Waddington (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, xxvi. 1, 1867, p. 232 ff., especially 235), and now too Lipsius (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1874, p. 188 ff.), are not right in putting the proconsulate of Quadratus, and so the death of Polycarp, 154-155 (23d February 155), in which case the date of his birth goes more than ten years farther back, and there is more room for his intercourse with John.

⁷⁰ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, II. xxii. 5; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 148 a. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxiii. 3; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1871, vol. iv. p. 108. This item of Irenæus' is independent of that other statement that Jesus was fifty years old, which arose from a misunderstanding of John viii. 57.

⁷¹ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 7; *ut supra*, p. 190 a: τετράμορφον εὐαγγέλιον.

⁷² *Ibid.* III. xi. 7; *ut supra*, p. 189 b: 'Tanta est autem circa evangelia hæc firmitas, ut et ipsi hæretici testimonium reddant eis, ut ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam' ('This certainty as to the gospels is moreover so great that even heretics testify to them, since each one of them tries to confirm his doctrine by starting out from these very books').

⁷³ *Ibid.* IV. xxxiii. 8; p. 272 b.

⁷⁴ 'Successio quæ est ab apostolis in ecclesia traditio et veritatis præconatio pervenit usque ad nos.' [Τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδαχῇ ἥτις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς. *Ibid.* III. iii. 3; *ut supra*, p. 176 b. The translation follows the Latin, which alone is given in the German edition.—C.R.G.]

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* III. iii. 4; *ut supra*, pp. 176-178.

⁷⁶ ἱππῖτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ σῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπυσῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξίδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν Ἐφίῳ τῆς Ἀσίας

διαρρίβων. Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. i. 1; *ut supra*, p. 174; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. viii. 4; *ut supra*, p. 206.

⁷⁴ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. ii.-iv.; *ut supra*, pp. 174-179.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* III. v. ff.; p. 179 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* III. ix.; pp. 183-185.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* III. x.; pp. 185-188.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* III. xi.; pp. 188-192.

⁷⁹ See Adolf Harnack, *Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus*, Leipzig, 1873, p. 46.

⁸⁰ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 1; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 188 a.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* III. xi. 1-7; *ut supra*, pp. 188-190.

⁸² *Ibid.* III. xi. 8; *ut supra*, p. 190 b. 'Neque autem plura numero quam hæc sunt, neque rursus pauciora capit esse evangelia.'

⁸³ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. i. 15; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1871, vol. iv. p. 186: ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰρημένον, ὅτι ἐλεύσεται καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ἑμᾶς δοῦξαι λατρίαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ ('And the word spoken by the Lord was fulfilled, that "the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service"').

⁸⁴ Scholten, *Die æltesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testamentes*, Bremen, 1867, pp. 110, 111.

⁸⁵ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxi. 2 (3?); *ut supra*, p. 123; and V. xxiv. 3; p. 230.

⁸⁶ *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1849, p. 279.

⁸⁷ *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 345.

⁸⁸ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, II. xxii. 3 and 6; *ut supra*, pp. 147, 148.

⁸⁹ Polycrates, in Otto's *Corpus Apologetarum*, tom. ix., Jena, 1872, p. 416: θεὸς γὰρ ὧν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος ὁ αὐτὸς τὰς δύο αὐτοῦ οὐσίας ἐπιστάσατο ἡμῖν, τὴν μὲν θεότητα αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν σημείων [compare John's use of this word] ἐν τῇ τριετίᾳ τῇ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν δὲ ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα χρόνοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

⁹⁰ *Literarisches Central-Blatt für Deutschland*, 15 März 1873, Nr. 11, pp. 322, 323.

⁹¹ Tatian, *Oratio ad Græcos*, cap. 4 (6); edit. Otto (*Corpus Apol. christ. Secul. Secund.* vol. vi.), Jena, 1851, p. 18 (144 C).

⁹² *Ibid.* cap. 5 (7); pp. 20, 22 (145 A).

⁹³ *Ibid.* cap. 13 (21, 22); p. 60 (152 C). [Otto has: τοῦτο ἴσθιν ἄρα τὸ εἶρη. and Ἡ (ὁ) λόγος.—C.R.G.]

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* cap. 19 (33); p. 88 (158 D).

⁹⁵ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 625 f.; 1847, p. 158. Baur, *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Tübingen, 1853, p. 307.

⁹⁶ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV. xxix. 6; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1871, vol. iv. p. 181.

⁹⁷ See W. Möller, article 'Tatian,' in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. xv. (1862) p. 424 f. Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2d edit. Berlin, 1866, pp. 231 f., 314 f., 638. Guericke, *Neutestamentliche Isagogik*, 3d edit. Leipzig, 1868, p. 245 f.

⁹⁸ Theodoret, *Hæreticarum Fabularum Compendium*, lib. i. cap. 20; *Opera*, edit. Schulze, Halle, 1772, tom. iv. p. 312.

⁹⁹ Holtzmann, article 'Apokryphen des N. T.,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, Leipzig, vol. i. (1869) p. 178.

¹⁰⁰ See above, note 98.

¹⁰¹ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, I. xxviii. 1; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, pp. 106, 107. Also in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV. xxix. 1-3; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 180. Therewith agrees Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Hæresium*, viii. 16; x. 18; edit. Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859, pp. 432 and 522.

¹⁰² *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1874, 2 Heft, p. 276 ff.

¹⁰³ *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, Erlangen, 1866 (Bd. xxxi.), pp. 382-400.

¹⁰⁴ Volkmar, 1855; Luthardt, 1856; Riggenbach, 1866; Weizsäcker, 1867; Nitzsch, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1870.

¹⁰⁵ *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1873, Nr. 28.

¹⁰⁶ Credner, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon*, Berlin, 1860, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ See *Ibid.* p. 16, note.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 17 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 106; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, 1843, vol. ii. p. 356.

¹¹⁰ Scholten, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Bremen, 1867, p. 39.

¹¹¹ Volkmar, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, p. 300.

¹¹² Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, Halle, vol. i. (1832) p. 105.

¹¹³ Justin, *Apologia*, I. 66; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. i. (1842) p. 268.

¹¹⁴ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 103; *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 348.

¹¹⁵ Justin, *Apologia*, I. 67; *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 270.

¹¹⁶ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 10; *Ibid.* vol. ii. (1843) p. 38.

¹¹⁷ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1853, p. 152.

¹¹⁸ Schwegler, *Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1846, vol. i. pp. 174, 175, note.

¹¹⁹ Baur, *Das Christenthum und die christl. Kirche d. drei*

ersten Jahrhundert., Tübingen, 1853, p. 125. Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht*, Stuttgart, 1854, p. 479.

¹³⁰ Volkmar, *Ueber Justin der Märtyrer*, Zürich, 1853, p. 32.

¹³¹ Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien, und Marcion's*, Halle, 1850, p. 293.

¹³² Otto, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1842, 2 Heft, p. 41 ff.; 1843, 1 Heft, p. 34 ff.

¹³³ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 19–22; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. ii. (1843) pp. 64–76.

¹³⁴ *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, 1856, p. 386 ff.

¹³⁵ Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*; 1ter Theil, *Die Petrinische Periode*, Berlin, 1870, p. 118. See Weizsäcker also, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1867, p. 72 f.

¹³⁶ Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, *ut supra*, p. 293.

¹³⁷ The very terms quoted are not indeed found in Justin himself, but the view expressed by them lies at the bottom of his developments. When Theophilus (*Ad Autolycum*, lib. ii. cap. xxxi. [xxii.]; edit. Wolf, Hamburg, 1724, p. 172) gives the names of the categories, it is only upon the outward occasion, and is no difference of view.

¹³⁸ See Weizsäcker, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1867, pp. 65–99.

¹³⁹ Baur, *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Tübingen, 1853, p. 305. Hellwag, *Die Vorstellung von der Präexistenz Christi*, etc.; *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1848, p. 261 f. Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 96.

¹⁴⁰ See Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, part i., Berlin, 1870, p. 116.

¹⁴¹ Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien, und Marcion's*, Halle, 1850, p. 297.

¹⁴² Scholten, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. Translated by Carl Manchot, Bremen, 1867, p. 30.

¹⁴³ Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, *ut supra*, p. 301 f.

¹⁴⁴ *Apologia*, I. 5; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. i. (1842) p. 148.

¹⁴⁵ Scholten, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, German edition, Berlin, 1867, p. 424.

¹⁴⁶ *Apologia*, I. 66; *Opera*, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 268.

¹⁴⁷ *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 70; *Ibid.* vol. ii. (1843) p. 240.

¹⁴⁸ *Apologia*, II. 6; *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 296.

¹⁴⁹ *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 48; *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 154.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 156: οὐκ ἀνθρώποις διδάγμασι κεκλιόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ διδασκούμενοι ('we have been commanded by Christ himself not to obey human teachings, but the things preached by the blessed prophets and taught by him').

¹⁴¹ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1845, p. 614; 1847, p. 152; held less strictly in 1855, p. 138 ff.

¹⁴² Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 107.

¹⁴³ Justin, *Apologia*, I. 6; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. i. (1842) p. 150.

¹⁴⁴ *Apologia*, I. 22; *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 184: *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 69, vol. ii. p. 237.

¹⁴⁵ Justin, *Apologia*, I. 52; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. i. (1842) p. 240.

¹⁴⁶ Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien, und Marcion's*, Halle, 1850, p. 49.

¹⁴⁷ For example, Ps. lxviii. 18, changed to suit Ephes. iv. 8. See Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, Halle, vol. ii. (1838) p. 296.

¹⁴⁸ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 14; *Opera, ut supra*, vol. ii. (1843) p. 52. *Ibid.* cap. 32, ἐπιγνώσεσθαι, p. 102.

¹⁴⁹ Justin, *Apologia*, I. 61; *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 258. [On this passage compare a note by Professor Ezra Abbot in the American edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, New York, 1868, p. 1433. Like variations are cited in several passages not before remarked by critics.—C.R.G.]

¹⁵⁰ Tischendorf, 8th edit., reads: εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν; the Sinaitic manuscript reads: εἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

¹⁵¹ Volkmar, *Ueber Justin der Märtyrer und sein Verhältniss zu unsern Evangelien*, Zürich, 1853, p. 16.

¹⁵² Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in d. bibl. Schr.*, Halle, vol. i. (1832) p. 253.

¹⁵³ Volkmar, *Ueber Justin der Märtyrer*, Zürich, 1853, p. 19.

¹⁵⁴ [*Constitutiones Apostolorum*, S. 15; edit. Lagarde, Leipzig and London, 1862, pp. 175, line 25, 176, line 1. Lagarde reads γεννηθῆν, but y z t read βαπτισθῆν.—C.R.G.]

¹⁵⁵ [In the German edition, 'das Johannes evangelium' was falsely printed for 'Justin.'—C.R.G.]

¹⁵⁶ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1845, pp. 597, 613; 1847, p. 151 f.; 1853, p. 145. Schwegler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1846, vol. i. p. 218 f. Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847. Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien, und*

Marcion's, Halle, 1850, p. 388. The words quoted are from Baur.

¹⁵⁷ Volkmar, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1854, p. 455.

¹⁵⁸ Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien, und Marcion's*, Halle, 1850, p. 215. Volkmar, *Ueber Justin der Märtyrer*, Zürich, 1853, p. 22.

¹⁵⁹ Hilgenfeld, *ut supra*, p. 216.

¹⁶⁰ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 614; 1855, p. 138 ff.

¹⁶¹ Justin, *Apologia*, I. 66; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. i. (1842) p. 268.

¹⁶² Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 17; *Opera*, *ut supra*, vol. ii. pp. 60–62.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* cap. 40, p. 130; cap. 111, p. 370.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* cap. 63, p. 210.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* cap. 64, p. 216.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* cap. 88, p. 304.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* cap. 100, p. 334.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* cap. 69, p. 236.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* cap. 114, p. 380.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* cap. 124, p. 414.

¹⁷¹ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 612.

¹⁷² Justin, *De Resurrectione*, cap. i.; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. ii. (1843) p. 508.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* cap. ix. p. 538.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* cap. ii. p. 512.

¹⁷⁶ Overbeck, *Ueber den pseudojustinischen Brief an Diognet. Programme*, Basel, 1872, p. 34.

¹⁷⁷ Zahn in Göttingen, *Götting. Gelehrt. Anzeigen*, 1873, vol. ii. pp. 106–116.

¹⁷⁸ Keim, *Protestantische Kirchen-Zeitung*, 1873, Nos. 13, 14.

¹⁷⁹ Lipsius, *Literarisches Central Blatt*, 1873, No. 40, 4th October, p. 1251.

¹⁸⁰ *Epistola ad Diognetum*, cap. 7; *Justini Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. ii. (1843) pp. 482–488.

¹⁸¹ Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, 2 Hefte, pp. 270–286.

¹⁸² *Epistola ad Diognetum*, cap. 5; *ut supra*, p. 480 (497 c, d).

¹⁸³ Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, part i., Berlin, 1870, p. 109.

¹⁸⁴ Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 2d edit. Bonn, 1857, p. 266 ff. Ritschl, on p. 268, note, quotes the letter to Diognetus as a testimony for the year 150 and thereabouts, thus indicating his opinion that the letter was written later than that year. Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 105.

¹⁸⁵ Credner, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanon*, Berlin, 1860, p. 59, note.

¹⁸⁶ Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1st edit. vol. vii. p. 149

says 120–130; 2d edit. Göttingen, 1868, vol. vii. p. 159, says under Nerva.

¹⁸⁷ Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, part i., Berlin, 1870, p. 109.

¹⁸⁸ See Credner, *ut supra*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁹ *Epistola ad Diognetum*, cap. xi.; *Justini Opera*, *ut supra*, vol. ii. pp. 500, 502.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* cap. x. pp. 496, 498.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* cap. vi. p. 480.

¹⁹² Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, cap. xvii.; *Opera*, edit. Oehler, Leipzig, 1853, vol. i. pp. 636, 637.

¹⁹³ See Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1851, p. xxi.; and Von Gutschmidt, in *Rhein. Museum*, 1864, pp. 177, 390.

¹⁹⁴ Tischendorf, *ut supra*, pp. 40–63.

¹⁹⁵ Caput v. Tischendorf, *ut supra*, p. 42; cap. xxiii. p. 50.

¹⁹⁶ Caput xxix. *Ibid.* p. 54; cap. 37, p. 58.

¹⁹⁷ Caput xxv. *Ibid.* p. 51.

¹⁹⁸ See Zahn, *Der Hirte des Hermas*, 1868, p. 480.

¹⁹⁹ *Hermæ Pastor*, mandatum xii. 3; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edit. Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, p. 601.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* similitudo ix. 12, p. 628.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* similitudo v. 6, p. 610.

²⁰² Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 143.

²⁰³ See the detailed proof in Zahn, *Der Hirte des Hermas*, 1868, pp. 467–476.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 92 and 96.

²⁰⁵ Irenæus, *Letter to Florinus*, in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xx. 8; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 227.

²⁰⁶ Polycarp, *Epistola ad Philippenses*, cap. vii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edit. Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, p. 385.

²⁰⁷ Baur, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1844, p. 667. Zeller, *Ibid.* 1845, p. 587.

²⁰⁸ Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien nach den Urkunden, laut den neuern Entdeckungen und Verhandlungen*, Zürich, 1866, p. 47 ff.

²⁰⁹ See Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis*, Basel, 1866, p. 102 ff.

²¹⁰ Schwegler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung*, Tübingen, 1846, vol. ii. p. 154. Hilgenfeld, *Die apostolischen Väter*, Halle, 1853, p. 271.

²¹¹ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. iii. 4; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 177.

²¹² Polycarp, *Epistola ad Philippenses*, cap. xiii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edit. Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, p. 390.

²¹³ *Ibid.* cap. ix. p. 387; cap. xiii. p. 389.

²¹⁴ Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 2d edit. Bonn, 1857, p. 584 ff.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 599, 600; and Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 105.

²¹⁶ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 145.

²¹⁷ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix. 2; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) pp. 133–136.

²¹⁸ Steitz, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, pp. 496–499. So too Leuschner, *Das Evangelium Johannis und seine neuesten Widersacher*, Halle, 1873, p. 96 ff.

²¹⁹ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, V. xxxvi. 2; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 337, a.

²²⁰ Zahn, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, p. 657.

²²¹ Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, 2d edit. Oxford, vol. i. (1846) p. 12 (?).

²²² Zahn, *ut supra*, p. 667.

²²³ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix. 1; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 133.

²²⁴ *Ibid.* III. xxxix. 2; p. 133.

²²⁵ Zahn, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, p. 657.

²²⁶ *Vatic. Alex.* No. 14. Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* 4th edit. Leipzig, 1866, p. 118 f.

²²⁷ Corderius, *Catena Patrum Græcorum in Sanctum Joannem ex Antiquissimo Græco Codice MS. nunc primum in lucem edita*, Antwerp, 1630; on the next to the last page of the Introduction.

²²⁸ Zahn, in his comprehensive work, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873.

²²⁹ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. pp. 137, 138, note 1.

²³⁰ Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, Berlin, 1871, p. 137.

²³¹ Uhlhorn, 'Ignatius,' in Herzog's *Encyklopädie*, vol. vi. (1856) pp. 623–630.

²³² Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1856, p. 73. Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon und die Kritik des Neuen Testaments*, Halle, 1863, p. 31. Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 51.

²³³ Hilgenfeld, about 167; Keim, in *Celsus' Wahres Wort*, Zürich, 1873, p. 145, not till Commodus, 180–192.

²³⁴ So Lipsius, *ut supra*.

²³⁵ Ignatius, *Epistola ad Philadelphienses*, vii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edit. Dressel (2d edit.), Leipzig, 1863, p. 180.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, *Ad Romanos*, vii., as given by Petermann and Zahn. Dressel's text, *ut supra*, p. 170, is as applicable, or more so.

²³⁷ Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 1856, p. 72.

²³⁸ Baur, *Die Ignatianischen Briefe und ihr neuester Kritiker. Eine Streitschrift gegen Herrn Bunsen*, Tübingen, 1848, p. 112 f.

²³⁹ Ignatius, *Epistola ad Magnesianos*, viii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, 2d edit. Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, p. 248, margin.

²⁴⁰ Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873, p. 605.

²⁴¹ Ignatius, *Epistola ad Ephesios*, xiv.; *ut supra*, p. 132; compare *Ibid.* p. 382.

²⁴² Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873, p. 605.

²⁴³ Ignatius, *Ad Romanos*, cap. vii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edit. Dressel (2d edit.), Leipzig, 1863, p. 170. *Ad Ephesios*, cap. xvii. p. 134 (326); cap. xix. p. 136 (336). *Ad Magnesianos*, cap. i. p. 242. *Ad Trallianos*, cap. iv. p. 156. [In the German original as well as in Zahn's *Ignatius*, whence they were copied, these two phrases are exchanged, John's being attributed to Ignatius, and *vice versa*.—C.R.G.]

²⁴⁴ Ignatius, *Ad Romanos*, cap. vi.; *Ibid.* p. 170.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 164.

²⁴⁶ Baur, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, 3d edit. Tübingen, 1863. Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, Berlin, 1871, p. 137.

²⁴⁷ Uhlhorn, 'Ignatius,' in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, vol. vi. (1856) p. 630.

²⁴⁸ Ignatius, *Ad Ephesios*, cap. xi.; *ut supra*, p. 130 (p. 332 has *συνησαν*).

²⁴⁹ Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873, p. 47 f.

²⁵⁰ Ignatius, *Ad Philippenses*, cap. viii.; *ut supra*, p. 180 (286). That is the way Zahn, *Ignatius*, p. 374 ff., understands this passage. Hilgenfeld disputes it, however, in his *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1874, p. 115 f.

²⁵¹ We refer to Basilides' 24 books on the 'Gospel'; see Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV. vii. 7; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 142.

²⁵² Wieseler, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1870, 4 Heft. Riggenbach, *Der sogenannte Brief des Barnabas*: 1. *Uebersetzung*; 2. *Bemerkungen. Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss des Briefes*, Basel, 1873, p. 41. Programme for 50 years' jubilee of Professors Hagenbach and Staehelin.

²⁵³ Nitzsch, also, in his *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, Berlin, 1870, p. 103, says 96 or 97.

²⁵⁴ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 141 ff.

²⁵⁵ Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1871, p. 336 ff.

²⁵⁶ Keim, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 145.

²⁵⁷ Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis*, Basel, 1866, pp. 89, 90; also *Programme*, 1873, *ut supra*, p. 37.

²⁵⁸ Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 104.

²⁵⁹ *Barnabæ Epistola*, cap. v.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* edit. Dressel (2d edit.), Leipzig, 1863, p. lxvii. (p. 8).

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* cap. vi. p. lxvii. (p. 12).

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* cap. xii. p. 28.

²⁶² *Ibid.* cap. ii. p. lxiv.

²⁶³ *Ibid.* cap. ix. p. 20.

²⁶⁴ Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, Berlin, 1871, p. 5.

²⁶⁵ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 137, note. Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 63 f.

²⁶⁶ Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelien Kritik* (vol. i. of *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, etc.), Berlin, 1846, p. 180.

²⁶⁷ Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 107 ff.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 111.

²⁶⁹ See above, p. 6.

²⁷⁰ [See upon this point a note by Professor Ezra Abbot, in the American edition of Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, New York, 1868, pp. 1430, 1431.—C.R.G.]

²⁷¹ See Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, ix. (1858) p. 55 ff.

²⁷² [See Diotallevi, *Dissertatio Philologico-Historico-Biblica de Titulo Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Rome, 1845.—C.R.G.]

²⁷³ Volkmar, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, p. 293.

²⁷⁴ Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, ix. (1858) pp. 57, 58, 59.

²⁷⁵ Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpuncts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen, 1845, p. 321.

CHAPTER IV.

TESTIMONY OUTSIDE OF THE CHURCH.

ENEMIES of the Church, and heretics, give testimony for John's gospel.

The oldest polemic treatise of heathen thought against the 'new third religion' is the *Λόγος ἀληθής* ('the true word'). It was written by the philosopher Celsus, who was of the Platonic school, about 176-180, perhaps even earlier, 161-169. Engelhardt¹ showed thoroughly the importance of this book for the struggle of to-day.² 'We perceive' with amazement how profoundly the eclectic philosopher must have studied the doctrine of Christianity. He has gone back to the first sources everywhere. He has read and used not only the Old Testament, but also our synoptic gospels, and perhaps even Paul's epistles. It is undeniable that he knew John's gospel. Indeed, Keim has proved convincingly that the whole image of Christ, which Celsus composed for himself, and against which he then contends with scorn and derision or in calm demonstration, is taken in great part from John's conception and presentation of Him.³ His acquaintance with the canonical literature of the Church goes hand in hand with his knowledge of the Christian 'great church,' in distinction from the Gnostic sects. His quotations from the gospel history, his emphasizing the alleged contradictions, and the like, proves that he used our canonical gospels.⁴ He refers most frequently to Matthew; still he uses John more than Mark and

Luke. This use appears 'in the mention of the sign the Baptist saw ;⁶ in the demand of the temple that Jesus give a sign ;⁷ in the two-sided determination of Jesus to good and to evil ;⁸ in his flight after condemnation is passed ;⁹ in the binding after the arrest ;¹⁰ and, finally, in the dying One's struggle with and victory over Satan.¹¹ Resting on these facts, and on the general observation that the whole Christological standpoint of the Church, as Celsus describes it, is John's, we can, as a supplement, bring into union with John more doubtful things, such as the name Logos, the angel at the grave, Mary Magdalene [as a witness to the raised One], and the marks of the nails.'¹² Certainly nobody who reads Keim's text of Celsus can avoid this impression. It follows from this that John's gospel was at that time a record of Christianity known and recognised by friend and foe. Therefore it will not do to talk of it as originating in that or in the immediately preceding time.

Heretical Jewish Christianity.

If John's gospel was of necessity hostile to any one party, that party was the heretical Jewish Christianity. But even this party could not avoid acknowledging it. According to Ewald,¹³ the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* was written under Hadrian by a Nazarite.¹⁴ It probably arose in the mother country.¹⁵ And the passages in question are not interpolated.¹⁶ The expressions : φῶς τοῦ κόσμου ('light of the world,'¹⁷ σωτήρ, 'Saviour' ¹⁸) ; μονογενής ('only-begotten') ;¹⁹ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας μαρτυρεῖ ('the spirit of truth witnesses') ;²⁰ πηγή εἰς ζωὴν πάσης σαρκός²¹ ('a fountain unto the life of all flesh') ; θεὸς ἐν σαρκί²² ('God in flesh') ; ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ('the Lamb of God'),²³ are,

decided reminiscences of John. The matter is just as unquestionable in the *Clementina*. Strike out if you like a number of the fifteen passages counted by De Lagarde,²⁴ and there are still enough left to prove the use of the gospel of John. Not to mention the citation from John iii. 5, referred to above,²⁵ look at *διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἀληθὴς ὢν προφήτης ἔλεγεν· ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πύλη τῆς ζωῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐμοῦ εἰσερχόμενος εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν ζωὴν*²⁶ ('wherefore he, being the true prophet, said: I am the gate of life, he that entereth by me entereth into life'); and *καὶ πάλιν τὰ ἐμὰ πρόβατα ἀκούει τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς*²⁷ ('and again, my sheep hear my voice'). Hence there ought to have been enough to silence opposition, without the need of waiting for Dressel to discover the end with the long quotation from John ix. 'The *Recognitions* arose in Rome itself, perhaps the *Homilies* too, while the book that is at the foundation of both points to East Syria.'²⁸ Syria is the home of this Jewish Christian literature. 'Internal grounds compel us to believe that the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* arose as early as the second half of the second century,'²⁹ if not earlier.³⁰ Books that fought Paul's doctrine and Paul himself so passionately could only with difficulty have made friends with the 'anti-Jewish' gospel of John. Therefore, seeing that they use it as an authority, its authority must have been so unquestionable, that even from their standpoint they were compelled to acknowledge it, and to explain their attitude with regard to it.

Gnostics.

We are now, by means of the *Philosophoumena*, better informed than before with regard to the Gnostic sects. They have obtained a renewed and confirmed importance for the question as to the age and origin

of the fourth gospel, at the present state of the inquiry. The Gnostics of the second century seem almost to have made greater use of the New Testament books than the Catholics did, who could appeal to the Old Testament, allegorically interpreted, as their chief resource. It would, however, be an entirely groundless assertion to say that a New Testament book had ever forced its way into church circles only by the use which the Gnostics made of it. Hence the principle is incontestable, that every book afterwards reckoned under the New Testament canon is to be held as already received by the Church at the time when its use by the Gnostics can be proved.

The Gnostic systems concerned in our question are those of Marcion, Valentinus, and Basilides, as well as the Ophitic (Naassenes, Perates). Their testimony for the gospel of John is of various weight, according as we determine the time of their founders. Such a definition of time, however, is still questionable. To this must be added the fact, that the systems underwent developments which led them even into opposition to their originators.

The appearance of Basilides in Alexandria is commonly, and probably rightly, put at 130. The prevailing view is, that he was the first Gnostic who founded a real school, and so earlier than Marcion and Valentinus.

The Ophites (Cainites, Ophites, Sethites, Naassenes, Perates, etc.) are the oldest sect according to Lipsius.³¹ But as Irenæus is the first one who reports about them, we have at least no acquaintance with their original doctrines.

Valentinus, according to Irenæus,³² came to Rome under Hyginus, therefore between 135 (137) and 139 (141), and lived till the time of Anicetus, 154-166, or 156-167. Since he worked in Alexandria before this,

we may go back to 130. His four pupils were Ptolemæus, Heracleon, Marcus, and Theodotus. Irenæus brings a saying about Marcus from the mouth of an Asia Minor elder. Therefore he must have come forth publicly a long while before Irenæus wrote, and cannot have attached himself to Valentinus after 160. By the unanimous testimony of antiquity, Ptolemæus is the eldest pupil of Valentinus, and so he must be put still earlier. As Irenæus calls Ptolemæus, so Origen calls Heracleon, *γνώριμος Οὐαλεντίνου* ('an acquaintance of Valentinus'), probably in the sense of the direct relation of a pupil.³³ Hence Heracleon, too, did not appear much after 160. Volkmar's and Scholten's³⁴ hasty declaration that Irenæus does not know Heracleon was refuted long ago.³⁵ We do not know how long the activity of these three pupils of Valentinus lasted. The same may be said for the time of the fourth, Theodotus.

Marcion's date needs to be fixed more exactly. Fihrist confirms the fact that he came to Rome after Hyginus' death: he appeared in the first year of Antoninus, and hence in 138–139.³⁶ When Irenæus writes:³⁷ 'sub Aniceto invaluit,' he names not the time of his appearance, but that of his bloom. According to the testimony of many church fathers, his appearance in Rome was preceded by a time of heretical activity in Asia Minor, which perhaps stretches still farther back than the appearance of Basilides and Valentinus. Adolf Harnack has made it probable that Justin's order, in his *Syntagma*, puts Marcion before Valentinus, Basilides, and Saturnil; that therefore the *πρωτόκοσ τοῦ Σατανᾶ* ('first-born of Satan') was also temporally a *πρωτόκοσ* ('first-born'); and that the account of the violation of the virgin, for which Marcion is said to have been shut out from the communion of the Church, relates to this.³⁸ In agreement

with Justin, and in distinction from Irenæus, Tertullian almost always puts Marcion before the rest. 'The arrangement of the book *De Carne Christi* shows that the order Marcion Valentinus is not a chance one, for he there combats first Marcion, then Apelles, and then Valentinus.'³⁹ He would not have called Valentinus, with Apelles, 'condiscipulus' ('fellow-disciple') of Marcion's,⁴⁰ if he had not thought the latter to be older than the two former. Thus, also, the fact that Origen commonly makes Marcion the first is to be connected with the order in Justin's *Syntagma*.⁴¹ After all this, the statement by Clement of Alexandria,⁴² that Marcion was older than Valentinus and Basilides, seems to rest on assured tradition.

In each we see an earnest endeavour to show that he is in connection with the apostolic age of the Church. On this behalf they appeal to single scholars of the apostles, and to apostles, in order to establish a continuity of tradition. Basilides, for example, pretended to be connected with Matthias, and, by a certain Glaukias, with Peter, and Valentinus with Paul by a certain Theudas.⁴³ And they likewise sought to prove their agreement with single apostolic books. They either picked these out arbitrarily for themselves to this end, and interpreted them allegorically in a forced way—like Valentinus, for example,—or they changed them to suit the use to be made of them.⁴⁴ Thiersch⁴⁵ urges well, that this forced allegory itself, by which they tried to make the church books serve their systems, is the strongest testimony for the unassailable authority enjoyed by these books at that time; and this also, with the sacredness of the respective books, proves their honourable age. Nevertheless, the Gnostics themselves showed how little the canonical gospels, with all this forced allegorizing, were fitted to express their ideas; for they thought it necessary to make

up gospels of their own, aside from the gospels of the Church.⁴⁶

Basilides.

Basilides wrote twenty-four books (ἐξηγητικά, 'exegetical books') on the gospel (εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον).⁴⁷ By this gospel we are not to understand any one you please, perhaps one composed by him himself. Nor does it mean the Christian doctrine in general. For an exegetical commentary, such as this work of Basilides was, presupposes a written basis. We are to understand by it, according to the constant usage of the language, 'the gospel' of the Church, that is, the collection of the church gospel books. Of course that does not say that the gospel of John belonged to this collection. Only when it is settled from other sources that John's gospel then existed, and was an authority, shall we have a right to find it in this τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ('the gospel'). It is always the easiest supposition to think of it as in τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον ('the four-fold gospel').⁴⁸ This position of the matter is in a measure altered by the *Philosophoumena*. These quote repeatedly Basilidian citations from John, with a φησὶν ('he says'). Therefore, from the singular verb, they are brought in, as it appears, as citations of Basilides' own, and then probably from those very ἐξηγητικά ('exegetical books').⁴⁹ Upon this, Hofstede de Groot, J. F. Bleek, and Keim⁵⁰ have defended the knowledge and use of the gospel of John on the part of Basilides himself. The words certainly speak for that. But against this stands the consideration that, as we know from Irenæus and others, Basilides' original system had a dualistic character, while that of the *Philosophoumena* is pantheistic. We must acknowledge, however, that Hippolytus, in his *Philosophoumena*, not seldom

makes the founder of a sect responsible for what was true of his scholar. Hence these citations prove the use of the gospel of John beyond doubt only for the school of Basilides, but not for the founder himself. It is nevertheless certainly used in the former as a genuine record of the words of the Lord, of infallible authority. Keim⁵¹ sees in the silence of John's gospel as to the bearing of the cross by Simon of Cyrene a polemical reference to the strange declaration of Basilides, that Simon was crucified instead of Jesus, while Jesus, in a changed form, stood by mocking. Such a way of proof ceases to require refutation. It belongs not to the realm of science, but of happy thoughts. The rest that Keim brings in, at the same place, to confirm the reference of John's gospel to the Gnosticism of the second century, is not much better. For example, the words of the Baptist, i. 32, that he saw the Spirit descend upon Jesus, are said to deny the testimony of the baptism of Jesus for the sake of the Gnostics, when, on the contrary, the baptism of Jesus with the Holy Ghost is confirmed by the fact that the Spirit came down and remained upon Him, i. 33. And then, again, following Hilgenfeld, he finds a Gnostic dualism in 'the two classes of men' in John's gospel.

Valentinus.

As for Valentinus, Irenæus certainly presents, in the first place, as he himself says, the system of his disciple Ptolemæus. Tertullian and Hippolytus follow him in this. But he surely had besides direct information about Valentinus. This appears in the brief description of the genuine system of Valentinus,⁵² a section taken in all probability⁵³ from the *σύνταγμα* of Justin. According to that, and indeed most naturally,

the Thirty-Eon system springs originally not from Ptolemæus, but from Valentinus. Now the unmis-takeable connection of this system of *eons* with John's use of language leaves simply the dilemma, either that John's gospel was influenced by Valentinus, or that the latter was influenced by the gospel. In such a position of affairs the choice cannot be doubtful. To attribute the priority to Valentinus can only be termed a mental aberration. But if this be certain with regard to the general contents, the decision can then no longer rest on single quotations. Still they strengthen that certainty. Irenæus brings in several undeniable Johannean quotations of Ptolemæus'. See, for example, *ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι καὶ τί εἶπω οὐκ οἶδα*⁵⁴ ('in that which was spoken: And what I shall say I know not'), John xii. 27. Again, the apostle John himself is said⁵⁵ to have designated the first Ogdoad, in that he appoints i. 1, 2 an *ἀρχή* ('beginning'), calls the Son *μονογενὴς καὶ θεός* ('only-begotten and God'), etc., *λέγει δὲ οὕτως ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος κτλ.* ('and he speaks thus: In the beginning was the word,' etc.). Here the Valentinian expressly names John as the author of the gospel. Ptolemæus likewise, in his letter to Flora,⁵⁶ citing John i. 3, writes: *λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος* ('the apostle says'). But Heracleon wrote a complete commentary to John's gospel. The fragments preserved by Origen show how he everywhere had to take refuge in the most forced meanings, so as to gain a sense that suited him.⁵⁷ Volkmar writes,⁵⁸ that if Heracleon was 'a contemporary' of Valentinus, or that if 'John's gospel was provided with the commentary between 125 and 155,' then 'the critical declaration, that John's gospel arose only at the middle of the second century, is simply cut to pieces.' And it is 'cut to pieces' even if Heracleon be only a contemporary of Ptolemæus, with whom Irenæus⁵⁹ names him. For his commentary

shows in what unquestionable respect John's gospel stood, and that Gnosticism, cost what it would, had for her own justification to reconcile herself with it. It, however, never occurred to her to contest its apostolic composition. On the contrary, as Ptolemæus shows, she recognised that as a matter of course. Irenæus, when describing Marcus' system,⁶⁰ brings in no quotation from John. Zeller used that as a weapon against the authenticity of John's gospel.⁶¹ This argument from silence would be more than queer, even if we did not have the testimony of Ptolemæus and Heracleon. In the fragment of Theodotus, Hofstede de Groot⁶² counts twenty-six quotations from John.

It appears, then, from the facts adduced, that John's gospel played an important part in the system of Valentinus' disciples. The terminologies of their systems were taken from it ; and besides that, it must have been the object of their most penetrating and special speculation. The make of the Valentinian system itself, and the endeavours to prove it, seem so grown together with this gospel, that that system is inconceivable without the gospel. 'It is impossible to think that John's gospel could only have been composed during the existence of the Valentinian sect, and with reference to it.'⁶³ Valentinus could not have been the founder of this school, if the close connection of the system with John's gospel was not due to him. But then, what Irenæus⁶⁴ says of Valentinus' school will hold good for Valentinus himself: '*hi autem qui a Valentino sunt eo quod est secundum Joannem [evangelio] plenissime utentes ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum*' ('but those who belong to Valentinus use the one [gospel] according to John most abundantly to display their conjugations'). And so we must take Irenæus' statement to be correct, when he says, after mentioning that Marcion rejected particular books,⁶⁵

'reliqui vero omnes falso scientiæ nomine inflati, scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt, quemadmodum ostendimus in primo libro' ('all the rest, indeed, puffed up by the false name of science, acknowledge the Scriptures, but change the interpretations of it, as we showed in the first book'). The same may be said for Tertullian's words:⁶⁸ 'neque si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidior ingenio quam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non stilo usus est quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit: Valentinus autem pepercit, quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit' ('nor if Valentinus used⁶⁷ the whole instrument [that is, the Holy Scriptures], did he attack the truth with less cunning wits than Marcion. Marcion professedly and openly used a knife, not a pen, since he cut the Scriptures to fit his own material: but Valentinus spared them, since he did not adapt the Scriptures to the material, but the material to the Scriptures').

Are, then, direct separate quotations of John's gospel by Valentinus handed down to us? Many affirm this, on the ground of the *Philosophoumena* and their *φησίν* ('he says'): others deny it.⁶⁸ Hippolytus puts John x. 8 in the mouth of Valentinus himself⁶⁹ by *φησίν*: πάντες οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐληλυθότες κλέπται καὶ λησταὶ εἰσι ('all who came before me are thieves and robbers'). Again, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ('the prince of this world'), as a designation for the devil, occurs twice in Valentinus,⁷⁰ and nowhere else except in John xii. 31, xiv. 30, and xvi. 11. This seems to have been a fixed term in Valentinus' school. But we have already seen that, considering the freedom with which Hippolytus used this *φησίν* ('he says') elsewhere, this case is not enough to make a convincing proof. The decision can only be drawn from the complete presentation of the Valen-

tinian system by Hippolytus. It is most likely that Hippolytus presents the Valentinian system in a later, probably in the Ptolemaic, form, but interwoven with definite quotations which go back to Valentinus' own books. If this be settled, it is probable that we have citations of Valentinus' own among the citations with *φησίν*. Be that as it may, the more general investigations made above determine in any case the question whether Valentinus knew John's gospel, and that as a canonical book.

Ophitic Sects.

In regard to the Ophitic Sects, Hippolytus in his *Philosophoumena* certainly brings in numerous Johannean quotations of theirs: from the 'Naassenes,' John i. 3, 9, ii. 1-11, iii. 6, 8, iv. 10, 14, 21-24, v. 37, vi. 44, 53, viii. 21, ix. 1, x. 9, xiii. 33; from the 'Perates,' John i. 1-4, iii. 14, 17, viii. 44, x. 17; from the 'Sethians,' iv. 7-14; and from the Gnostic 'Justin,' John iv. 10-14, xix. 26. But the form of this Gnosticism, as it here lies before us, is not the original one, although there is much old matter under it. Hippolytus, probably with truth, therefore, designatesⁿ the Naassenes as the earliest Gnostics. From this we can only draw the confirmation of what is settled from other grounds, namely, that in the second half of the second century John's gospel stood in high canonical respect not merely in the Church, but also in the circles of Gnosticism.

Marcion.

The question as to Marcion's position towards John's gospel is more decisive. Marcion is the first critic

who, quite after the manner of the Tübingen school, always kept appealing to Galatians ii. to prove a 'differentia prædicationis' ('difference of preaching') between Paul and the original apostles.⁷² He thought it was his duty to restore again in its pure form the gospel of Christ, which the original apostles had legalized and Judaized.⁷³ Hence, as he himself confessed, he corrected Paul's epistles and Luke's gospel, because they had received additions from the 'judaizantes evangelizatores' ('Judaizing evangelizers'). 'Id evangelium quod Lucæ refertur penes nos . . . ipsum est quod Marcion per antitheses suas arguit ut interpolatum a protectoribus Judaismi' ('That gospel, which is referred to Luke among us, . . . is the very one which Marcion tried to show in his antitheses to be interpolated by the protectors of Judaism').⁷⁴ In speaking of Col. i. 15 ff. it is said: 'si hæc pseud-apostoli nostri et Judaici evangelizatores de suo intulerint,' etc.⁷⁵ ('if our false apostles and Jewish evangelizers should have brought these things in of themselves'). For his canon read, as his disciples give it:⁷⁶ 'Marcionem non tam innovasse regulam separatione legis et evangelii quam retro adulteratam recurasse' ('Marcion did not so much bring in a new rule by separating the law and the gospel, as restore again the rule that had been corrupted'). Marcion explains himself as to the grounds for his rejecting the canon of the Catholic Church, in a letter which Tertullian was acquainted with, and to which he expressly appeals in his polemical writings:⁷⁷ 'rescindendo quod retro credidisti, sicut et ipse confiteris in quadam epistola et tui non negant,' etc. ('by withdrawing what thou once believed, as also both thou thyself hast confessed in a certain letter, and thy [followers] do not deny,' etc.).

In connection with this Tertullian writes,⁷⁸ proceeding from Gal. ii.: 'connititur ad destruendum

statum eorum evangeliorum quæ propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scilicet fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat' ('he strives to destroy the authority of those gospels which are published of right and under the apostles' name, or even [under the name] of followers of apostles, so that he may give to his own the faith he takes away from them').⁷⁹ Again, at another place,⁸⁰ after speaking of that letter, he writes: 'si scripturas opinioni tuæ resistentes non de industria alias rejecisses, alias corrupisses, confudisset te in hac specie evangelium Joannis' ('if thou hadst not industriously rejected some and corrupted others of the Scriptures that oppose thy opinion, the gospel of John would have confounded thee in this point'). After this it cannot be denied that Marcion knew John's gospel. He knew it, and knew it as from the apostle John. That is the very reason he rejected it. He could not use in his canon books from original apostles, for in his opinion they had Judaistically corrupted all the doctrine of Christ. It is a matter of course, that among the gospels rejected by Marcion, 'quæ propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur' ('which are published of right, and under the apostles' name'), we are not, as Zeller thinks, to understand those of Thomas, Matthias, etc. It is only necessary to read Tertullian's polemical work connectedly to convince oneself that only the gospels of the Church are spoken of. Marcion did not need to reject those apocryphal things, since they were not received by the Church at all.⁸¹ Nor can we say that Tertullian, going upon the supposition that the canon of the Church was old and genuine, made Marcion responsible for a failure to use such books as the fourth gospel, which Marcion could not possibly have known, because they were not yet in existence in his day. So also Baur, Schweigler, Zeller, and others, held Marcion's Luke to be the

original, and the canonical to be the later; and therefore blamed Tertullian's attack as unjustified. But even they had to acknowledge, after Volkmar's proof, that the relation in the case of Luke's gospel is just the reverse. The same experience would repeat itself with John's gospel. He who reads carefully a few chapters in Tertullian⁸² will see two things: in the first place, that Tertullian knew Marcion's work; and in the second place, that he must have read in this very work that Marcion rejected the original apostolic gospels, namely, Matthew and John; and why he rejected them. Look merely at one passage: ⁸³ 'Marcion Lucam videtur elegisse quem cæderet' ('Marcion seems to have chosen Luke as the one he would cut'). From this, and from the whole method of proof in this chapter, it appears plainly that Marcion knew our four gospels ('apostolorum' and 'apostolicorum,' 'of apostles and of apostles' followers'). So the matter may rest in Weizsäcker's decision: ⁸⁴ 'Tertullian did not merely guess that Marcion knew and put aside the other gospels; he knew it as a fact. For he knew the arguments Marcion gave for this, and he combats these arguments; and these arguments refer especially to John's gospel.'

Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Strauss, and Scholten⁸⁵ declare that John's gospel would have suited Marcion's purpose better than Luke's; and that the fact of his not choosing it, though it speaks 'just as if out of Marcion's own soul,'⁸⁶ is a sign that it was not yet in existence. This assertion is utterly groundless. On the contrary, just because he knew it, and knew it to be original and apostolic, his false Paulinism compelled him to reject it. His Gnosticism was out and out irreconcilable with the alleged Gnosticism of the fourth gospel. That can be easily proved by many passages of the gospel.⁸⁷ Let us confine ourselves merely to the first two chapters of

the gospel, and see how much therein stood opposed to Marcion's system. Look at i. 3—according to Marcion, the 'bonus Deus' ('good God') and his Christ made nothing; i. 6-8—according to Marcion, the Baptist is not the forerunner but the antipode of Christ; i. 10—Christ had nothing to do with the creation of the world; i. 11—according to Marcion, Christ came not into his own world, but into one foreign to him, one that did not belong to him; i. 14—as a Docetic, Marcion must deny this; i. 15-36—Marcion must have rejected this paragraph for the same reason as i. 6-8; i. 41, (Eng. vers. 40), τῶν ἀκουσάντων παρὰ Ἰωάννου ('which heard John'), must have fallen out; i. 45-46—according to Marcion, neither Moses nor the prophets wrote about Christ, nor did he, in his entirety, come from Nazareth; i. 48 (47)—according to Marcion, the 'Israelite indeed' is no praise from Jesus' mouth; i. 50 ff. (49 ff.)—Marcion's Christ could not have approved of Nathanael's expression; ii. 1-11—Marcion's Christ could not have been guest at any marriage; ii. 12—according to Marcion, Jesus has neither brethren nor a mother. So there is no use of talking about John's gospel suiting Marcion better than Luke's. He must, on the contrary, have been compelled from his point of view to reject it, on account of its contents.

We have thus found that Marcion knew John's gospel, and that as apostolic. Therefore at his time it stood in unquestionable use and authority in the Church. Now Marcion is from Asia Minor, and had probably exercised a pretty long activity in Asia Minor before he came to Rome, about 140. Hence his testimony is the more decisive for this gospel of the apostle, whom all tradition puts in Asia Minor.

The result is this: at the middle, and even before the middle, of the second century, as far back as 130, John's gospel was known, and regarded as apostolic

in Gnostic circles. Therefore there can be no room for speaking of its arising at that time. The fact of such an early and general acceptance of it as an apostolic book in the ranks of the Gnostics presupposes a general recognition on the side of the Church. This fact compels us to go back for the origin, in any case, as far as the beginning of the second century. Where it was known, it was known under no other name than that of the apostle John. And then the existence of the gospel comes into such direct contact with the first recollections of the great apostle of Asia Minor, that mistake is excluded. If the gospel existed and passed as a book of the apostle's at the beginning of the second century in Asia Minor, as in the rest of the provinces of Christendom; and if John lived in Ephesus, and as late as to the time of Trajan, these two facts join each other so closely, that no error of tradition can press in between them and separate them.

Suppose, then, that they can no longer maintain the earlier position, which thrust the origin of the gospel far down into the second century. And suppose that, nevertheless, from other grounds, they think they cannot regard this book as an apostolic one. There is then nothing left but to deny the residence of the apostle John in Asia Minor. This, therefore, is the position taken up by Keim, with the approval of Scholten and others.

¹ M. von Engelhardt, *Dorpater Zeitschrift*, 1869.

² Keim published it: *Älteste Streitschrift antiker Weltanschauung gegen das Christenthum vom Jahre 178 nach Christo wiederhergestellt, aus dem Griechischen übersetzt, untersucht und erläutert, mit Lucian und Minucius Felix verglichen*. Zürich, 1873.

³ Review of Keim in *Zur altkirchlichen Literatur*, by Adolf Harnack. *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1873, Nos. 32 and 35; see No. 35, p. 657.

⁴ See Keim's opinion, *Älteste Streitschrift*, etc., *ut supra*, p. 223 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 228.

⁶ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, lib. i. cap. 41; pars i. (*Opera*, edit. Lommatzsch, vol. xviii.), Berlin, 1845, p. 79.

⁷ *Ibid.* lib. i. cap. 67, pp. 126, 127.

⁸ *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 7; pars ii. (*Opera*, vol. xix.), Berlin, 1846, p. 10. [Those receiving Him, saved: rejecting, lost.—C.R.G.]

⁹ *Ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 9; pars i. p. 147: lib. i. cap. 62; *Ibid.* p. 111.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 9; pars i. p. 147.

¹¹ *Ibid.* lib. vi. cap. 42; pars ii. pp. 374–376: lib. ii. cap. 47; pars i. p. 200.

¹² Keim, *Celsus' Wahres Wort, Älteste Streitschrift antiker Weltanschauung gegen das Christenthum vom Jahre 178 n. Chr.*, Zürich, 1873, p. 229 f.

¹³ [Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2d edit. Göttingen, 1868, vol. vii. p. 363 (1st edit. 328), says 90–110.—C.R.G.]

¹⁴ Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 2d edit. Bonn, 1857, p. 172 f.

¹⁵ Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1866, p. 144 f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 148 f.

¹⁷ *Testamenta XII. Patriarchum; ad fidem codicis Cantabrigiensis edita: accedunt lectiones cod. Oxoniensis. The Testament of the XII. Patriarchs: an attempt to estimate their historic and dogmatic worth.* By Robert Sinker, chaplain of Trinity College. Cambridge and London, 1869; *Levi*, xiv. p. 145.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Levi*, x. p. 143, xiv. p. 145; *Dan*, vi. p. 173.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Benjamin*, ix. p. 200. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, *Juda*, xx. p. 158.

²¹ *Ibid.*, *Juda*, xxiv. p. 159. ²² *Ibid.*, *Benjamin*, x. p. 200.

²³ *Ibid.*, *Joseph*, xix. p. 195.

²⁴ Lagarde, *Clementina*, Leipzig, 1865; see p. (30) of the Introduction.

²⁵ Lagarde, *Clementina*, p. 117, lines 3–5. See above, pp. 62, 63.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 50, lines 29–31.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 50, line 34.

²⁸ Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, part i., Berlin, 1870, p. 49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 105: 'from the middle of the second century.'

³¹ Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1863, pp. 410–457; 1864, pp. 37–57.

³² Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. iv. 3; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 178 b.

³³ Origen, *In Genesin*, hom. ii. cap. 2; *Opera*, edit. Lommatzsch, Berlin, 1838, vol. viii. pp. 102 and 135.

³⁴ Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 22. Scholten, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Bremen, 1867, p. 90.

³⁵ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, II. iv. 1; *ut supra*, p. 119 b.

³⁶ Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 85.

³⁷ [Irenæus, III. iv. 3; Massuet, Paris, 1710, reads *παράμεινεν ὡς Ἀνικήτου*, p. 178 b.—C.R.G.]

³⁸ Harnack, *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1874, 2 Heft, p. 219 f. [Heresy polluting the virgin Church.—C.R.G.]

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, cap. 1; *Opera*, edit. minor, Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, pp. 891, 892.

⁴¹ Harnack, *ut supra*, p. 223 f.

⁴² Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, vii. 17; *Opera*, edit. Sylburg, Cologne, 1688, p. 764 c, d.

⁴³ See Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der N. T. Schriften*, Erlangen, 1845, p. 392.

⁴⁴ See Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 7; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, pp. 189 b, 190.

⁴⁵ Thiersch, *Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der N. T. Schriften*, Erlangen, 1846, p. 89 ff.

⁴⁶ See Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxv.; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871), pp. 115–117; and Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 9, the ‘*evangelium veritatis*’ (‘gospel of truth’) of the Valentinians, edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 192 b.

⁴⁷ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV. vii. 7; *ut supra*, p. 142.

⁴⁸ Thiersch, *Versuch z. Herstell. d. hist. Standp. f. d. Kritik d. N. T. Schr.*, Erlangen, 1845, p. 394.

⁴⁹ Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Hæresium*, VII. xxii., edit. Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859, p. 360: καὶ τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον (‘and this, he says, is what is spoken in the gospels: That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world’), John i. 9. *Ibid.* VII. xxvii. p. 376: ὅτι δὲ, φησὶν, ἕκαστον ἰδίους ἔχει καιροῦς, ἵκανὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λόγων οὕτω ἔκει ἡ ὥρα μου (‘and because, he says, each thing has its own time, the great Saviour saying: Mine hour is not yet come’), John ii. 9.

⁵⁰ Hofstede de Groot, in his book on Basilides, German edit., Gröningen, 1868, pp. 8–16 and often; J. F. Bleek, in Bleek’s *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 2d edit. 1866, p.

227, note, etc. ; and Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 144.

⁵¹ Keim, *Gesch. Jesu nach d. Ergeb. u.s.w.*, Zürich, 1873, p. 41.

⁵² Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, I. xi. 1, edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, pp. 52–59.

⁵³ See Heinrici, *Die valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift. Eine Studie*, Berlin, 1871, pp. 38 ff., 63 ff.

⁵⁴ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, I. viii. 2 ; *ut supra*, p. 38.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* I. viii. 5, pp. 40, 41.

⁵⁶ In Epiphanius, *κατὰ αἰρεσίω*, cap. xxxiii. ; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. ii. (1860), pp. 199, 200.

⁵⁷ Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 1866, p. 227.

⁵⁸ Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, II. iv. 1 ; *ut supra*, p. 119.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* I. xiii.–xxi., pp. 59–98.

⁶¹ Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 635.

⁶² Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides*, Gröningen, 1868, p. 102 ; *see de Groot's note*.

⁶³ Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2d edit. Berlin, 1866, p. 227.

⁶⁴ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 7, edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 190.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* III. xii. 12, p. 198 b.

⁶⁶ *De Præ. Her.* xxxviii., ed. maj. Oehler, vol. ii. (1854), p. 36.

⁶⁷ 'Videtur,' in Tertullian's use of words, is equal to 'constat,' as Oehler has proved. This is against Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides*, Gröningen, 1868, p. 23, note ; and Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen u.s.w.*, 1864, p. 230.

⁶⁸ It is affirmed by Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 1862, p. 227 ; Meyer, *Commentar in d. Ev. Joh.* 3d. edit. 1856, p. 12 ; Guericke, *N. T. Isagogik* (2d edit. of *Einleit.*), Leipzig, 1854, p. 203 f. ; Jacobi, *Deutsche Zeitschrift f. christl. Wissensch. u. christl. Leben*, Berlin, 12 July 1851, Nos. 28, 29, pp. 221 f. and 233 f.—1853, Nr. 24 f. ; Ewald, *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, V. 1853, p. 200 f. ; Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst ?* 4th edit. 1866, p. 43 ff. ; Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis*, Basel, 1866, p. 118 ff. It is denied by Zeller, Baur, Scholten, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld.

⁶⁹ Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Hæresium*, VI. xxxv., edit. Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859, p. 284.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* VI. xxxiii., xxxiv., pp. 280, 282.

⁷¹ Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Hæresium*, V. vi., edit. Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859, p. 132.

⁷² See Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, I. xx.; *Opera*, edit. minor Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, p. 600; *Ibid.* IV. iii. p. 680; *Ibid.* V. iii. p. 781; *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, cap. xxiii. p. 564.

⁷³ See Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. ii. 2: 'apostolos admiscuisse ea quæ sunt legalia Salvatoris verbis' ('that the apostles had mingled things of the law with the words of the Saviour'); edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 175, a. *Ibid.* III. xii. 12: 'apostolos adhuc quæ sunt Judæorum sentientes, annuntiasse,' etc. ('the apostles thinking till now after the manner of the Jews, preached,' etc.); p. 198.

⁷⁴ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, IV. iv.; *ut supra*, pp. 681, 682.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* V. xix. p. 826.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* I. xx. p. 600.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* I. i. p. 583; IV. iv. p. 681; *De Carne Christi*, cap. ii. p. 893.

⁷⁸ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, IV. iii. p. 680.

⁷⁹ See also, in connection with this: 'etsi reprehensus est Petrus et Joannes et Jacobus,' etc. ('although Peter, John, and James were reproved').

⁸⁰ Tertullian, *De Carne Christi*, cap. iii. p. 895.

⁸¹ Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2d edit. Berlin, 1866, p. 228.

⁸² Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, IV. i.-vi.; *Opera*, edit. minor Oehler, Leipzig, 1854, pp. 676-684.

⁸³ *Ibid.* IV. ii. p. 679.

⁸⁴ Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*, Gotha, 1864, p. 230.

⁸⁵ Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien, und Marcion's*, Halle, 1850, p. 474; Volkmar, *Das Evangelium Marcion's*, Leipzig, 1852, p. 261 ff.; *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 76; Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 68; Scholten, *Die Aeltesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Bremen, 1867, pp. 73-84.

⁸⁶ Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 76.

⁸⁷ See Hahn, *Das Evangelium Marcions in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt*, Königsberg, 1823, pp. 269-274.

CHAPTER V.

ST. JOHN'S RESIDENCE AT EPHEBUS.

UNTIL far down towards our day, it passed as an unquestionable fact, that the apostle John spent the last part of his life, say from his sixty-fifth year, at Ephesus, and died there at an advanced age. This tradition, in connection with the Johannean question in general, has only lately been made a matter of doubt. Vogel,¹ in 1801, was the first to deny it. Reuterdahl,² in 1826, took a critical position with regard to separate pieces of it. And Lützelberger, in 1840, contested it stoutly. The latter tells plainly what decided him in this inquiry. If the apostle John's residence at Ephesus and his great age stand fast, then it is impossible that a book not from him could appear under his name in the first half of the second century. There must have been too many alive who had known the apostle, and from whom the deception or the error could not have remained concealed. Therefore if the gospel is to be denied to John, the error must be shown to be in the premises, that is, in the tradition of John's residence at Ephesus. Lützelberger presses the following reasons:—1. The Christological heresies in Asia Minor are inconceivable if an apostle had opposed them with his authority. 2. The tradition springs first from Irenæus, and has no existence before him. 3. Irenæus has recorded much about John that is clearly erroneous. 4. Irenæus was with Polycarp in his very earliest youth, and so in his old age might easily make a

mistake as to what he had heard. 5. Had John been alive when Luke wrote his gospel, he would have appealed to John, and not to subordinate authorities. 6. When Paul, in Gal. ii. 6, writes of the three pillars, *ὅποιοι ποτε ἦσαν* ('whatsoever they were'), in the preterite, at least one must have been dead: as Peter and James still lived, John was already dead. Therefore he did not go to Asia Minor, and 'consequently cannot have written there either the Revelation, or a gospel, or an epistle.'³ This criticism found a refuter in Grimm.⁴ (1.) Grimm, for the first argument, points to the experience that Paul had in his churches. (2.) For the second, he recalls the general doubtfulness of 'argument from silence,' and reminds us that such an argument is only valid when an absolute necessity for the required mention can be shown: he endeavours to prove in detail that such is not the case here. (3.) The third reason rests on misunderstandings, and proves too much. (4.) The fourth refutes itself by the vividness of Irenæus' recollections. (5.) The fifth is refuted by the fact that Luke did not live in Asia Minor when he gathered the material for his gospel. (6.) The sixth needs no refutation.

To this refutation of Grimm's was added a sharp rebuke on Schwegeler's part.⁵ I pick from this criticism of Schwegeler a few things that deserve to be heard again even now. Lützelberger closes with the result, that not only the authenticity of the gospel, of the epistles, and of the Revelation, but also the residence of the apostle in Asia Minor, is altogether to be questioned. 'What shall criticism say to this? Under the existing historical circumstances, it is hard to demonstrate the actuality of a fact resting on tradition to a man who denies and who is determined to doubt it. Nothing historical carries certainty with itself, since that which is most worthy of belief is related to

that which is least worthy of belief—not as truth to error, but as greater probability to less. Hence it is a daring attempt to try to produce historical evidence where, as in the case in hand, a mixture of the historical and the fabulous is an admitted fact.' True, it is hard to 'peel off the fabulous addition from the historical core.' Yet 'does not the whorl of the fiction presuppose a stem, upon which it climbed up? Can the apocryphal presbyter John, to whom even Lützelberger goes back as to the occasion of the fable, although his historical existence is endlessly more doubtful than that of the apostle, since, namely, Irenæus knows nothing about him—can the presbyter fill this place?' 'Lützelberger says that the fourth gospel, towards the middle of the second century, wandered over from the Euphrates into Asia Minor, and there aided essentially in the origin and development of the church tradition concerning the apostle John. And yet this is almost the very time at which the church in Asia Minor appealed to the authority of her apostle, being involved in the passover strife with the Roman church. This appeal is enough to show that the tradition as to the apostle rests upon the consciousness of the whole church of Asia Minor, and by no means flowed from the gospel, with which it is in the present respect in contradiction?' Where did the fourth gospel arise, according to Lützelberger? The apostles mentioned in it worked in Farther Asia, around Edessa and the like. Here, then, in Edessa, between 130 and 135, a philosophically educated Christian, who was not acquainted with the synoptic gospels, composed the fourth gospel, with the design of refuting heathen and Jewish objections to Christianity. From the Euphrates it strayed over to Cappadocia and Phrygia in the years 160–170, received there the twenty-first chapter, and was thus passed on to Hither Asia. And in Ephesus,

where in the meanwhile the grave of John, the disciple of the Lord, had turned up, it was held to be the work of the apostle John ! Edessa is first mentioned towards the end of the second century, upon occasion of the Gnostic Bardesanes. Its earlier history is a blank. 'Therefore' it was 'exactly suited to serve as the site for empty hypotheses. In one word, the whole hypothesis is a fantastical chimera.'⁶

Thus this view, although adopted by Weisse and by a review writer,⁷ seemed to be put out of the world for ever. The apostle's residence at Ephesus passed as unquestionable even with the Tübingen school. Indeed, it won a fundamental importance for the whole construction of church history. The Revelation, as the work of the apostle at Ephesus, served to prove his Jewish-Christian and anti-Pauline way of thought and action. And the late testimony of the Ephesian bishop Polycarp about John, and his position towards the pass-over celebration, appeared to be a sure document, and an undoubted confirmation of that leaning.

Keim, for the first,⁸ has stoutly denied John's authorship not only of the gospel, but also of the Revelation, and the Ephesian residence of the apostle, in general with arguments like Lützelberger's, only somewhat more disorderly. He appeals to the silence before Irenæus, to which is added the positive contrary testimony of Papias, who 'neither knew personally, nor even presupposed an apostle John in Asia Minor.' 'At a later time, in Asia Minor as well as in Corinth or Rome, they were eager to possess apostles, bearers of the pure tradition against Gnosticism.' Hence 'they confounded with the apostle John, John "the ancient," or "the presbyter," so visibly falling to the share of Asia Minor, and who reached as far back as to the apostles, yes, even to the Lord Himself, and as far down as to the second century.' 'Under the com-

bination of misunderstandings and of the wants of the day, Irenæus, born in Asia Minor, proclaimed John the apostle of Asia Minor at about 190 after Christ.⁹ What he heard as a boy from Polycarp about the presbyter, he transferred to the apostle, and so changed the former into the latter. It is easy to see that the case stands thus. For Irenæus calls Polycarp an eye- and ear-witness of the apostle John's and of many apostles, and yet a contemporary and friend of Papias'. But how could he be the former, when Papias did not know the apostle John in Asia Minor? Papias was the disciple not of the apostle, but of another John, and so therefore was Polycarp too. This John, and not the apostle, is the source of the chiliastic reveries of Papias, as Eusebius testifies; while Irenæus traces them back to the apostle. 'The peculiar doubles coincide so entirely in name, title, age, date, place, and fundamental traits, that it is only left for want of sense or for obstinacy to hold the position that the doubles really existed side by side.'¹⁰ Among others, Wittichen, Holtzmann, Scholten, and Ziegler fell in with Keim. Ewald, Steitz, Hilgenfeld, and Krenkel opposed him decidedly. Wittichen, in 1869, makes the fourth gospel to be written by John between 70 and 80, but in Syria, against Essenian Jewish-Christians. Appealing to Keim, he declares¹¹ the statements of Irenæus and Polycrates, the only ones in question, 'according to secure results of criticism,' to be 'a pack of misunderstandings and errors.' Holtzmann decides in the same way in connection with the result he thinks he has reached, namely, that the composition of the epistle to the Ephesians is to be put at Ephesus, and at about the year 100. Papias kept the two men named John clearly separate. Irenæus was guilty of confounding them, and his mistake 'became the measure for the whole decision of the following time.'¹² 'At any rate,

one of the last of those who knew the lost *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* ("explanations of the sayings of the Lord"), Georgios Hamartolos, writing in the ninth century, read in that work that John the son of Zebedee had been killed by the Jews—therefore probably in Palestine, and not in Ephesus!¹³ And a certain reviewer¹⁴ thinks it is 'not to be perceived that Holtzmann is wrong.' H. Ziegler, speaking briefly on this question,¹⁵ also declares that he does not know 'what could be opposed in a solid way to Keim's argument.' Scholten, in 1871, rejects the tradition of the ancient church as to the Ephesian residence, if possible, more decidedly than Keim, although he had still held to it in his book on the gospel of John in 1864. To get rid of Irenæus' inconvenient letter to Florinus, with his youthful reminiscences of Polycarp's stories about the apostle John, Scholten declares this letter to be a later partisan writing.¹⁶ This assertion, however, has as yet found no one to back it.

But Keim's statements did not fail to meet decided opposition. Ewald¹⁷ declared himself against Keim as early as 1867, recalling the fact that, even if Irenæus had not understood Papias aright, 'we have testimony as to the labours of the apostle John that is quite independent of Papias and Irenæus. But it really seems as if our author [Keim] saw himself forced to this conjecture simply because the long life and presence of the apostle at Ephesus were troublesome to him from other causes—causes, indeed, foreign to the matter.' Steitz¹⁸ goes into the question more exactly. He meets Keim's assertion that the apostles were all dead before the Revelation, about 70, with the remark of Hegeppus, about 176,¹⁹ that apostles lived till Trajan's day. There is not the least certainty in that pure censure which Keim makes out of Papias' alleged silence. Eusebius quotes no testimony from Papias, because he

thinks it unnecessary. As for the censure Keim finds in Papias' words about those *πολλὰ λέγοντες* ('talking much'), that is not a bit better than when Schwegler and Köstlin in their turn made it mean Paul and the Paulists. Did Irenæus confound the apostle and the presbyter John? But when he emphasizes Polycarp's intercourse with apostles and with many who had seen Christ, he plainly distinguishes between the two classes.²⁰ According to Keim, the John of whom Apollonius²¹ relates that he raised a dead man in Ephesus was not the apostle, but the writer of the Revelation. But the writer of the Revelation is, until as late as Dionysius of Alexandria, nobody but the apostle himself. Eusebius, too, understands by that John the apostle. Therefore there was in Asia Minor a tradition as to the apostle at Ephesus as early as 175, and not merely from the time of Irenæus, 190. But Apollonius points his Montanistic opponents to the public archives in Ephesus,²² and therefore he is at home in the traditions current there. Irenæus' letter to Victor in Rome makes an exchange impossible, for those in Rome would not have accepted that at once without further words. Is it likely that all of these, Irenæus in Gaul, Clement in Alexandria, Apollonius and Polycrates in Asia Minor, Anicetus and Victor in Rome, and finally Polycarp himself, should without exception have fallen into this error, being deceived by the title 'Disciple of the Lord,' and taken the presbyter for the apostle? Keim²³ was not able to weaken these arguments. Hilgenfeld began to oppose Keim in 1868,²⁴ and returned to the attack in 1872.²⁵ Like Steitz, he lays stress on Irenæus' letter to Victor of Rome, on his recollection of Polycarp's dealings with Anicetus, 155-166, which they would know about in Rome, and on Polycarp's appeal to the practice of the apostle John in celebrating the passover. When Scholten declares Irenæus' letter to Florinus,

which is decisive for the Johannean question, not genuine, he makes a 'desperate assertion.'²⁶ The statements of Clement of Alexandria as to John flow from independent sources; and the above-mentioned story by Apollonius, which presupposes the apostle's stay at Ephesus, does not depend on Irenæus.

Krenkel²⁷ joined these defenders of tradition. He starts from the standpoint of the Jewish-Christian tendency of the apostle and of the writer of the Revelation. His criticism strikes first of all at Keim's 'argument from silence.' The New Testament books do not mention the Ephesian residence, either because they were written too early, or because they had no occasion to mention it. The Ignatian letters are 'jointly and severally spurious.' That their 'zealous Pauline author does not speak of John, as on the contrary Justin Martyr, who prizes John and his Revelation, does not grant Paul a syllable,' 'is just what was to be expected.' Moreover, why should Polycarp's letter speak of John? It is directed to a European church that never stood in connection with John. That much-discussed passage in Papias²⁸ about his vouchers proves nothing against John. It does not exclude the possibility of Papias' having known one or another of the apostles personally. A close discussion of the seven separate utterances of Irenæus about the apostle John leads Krenkel to the conclusion that no misunderstanding is to be assumed here, and 'therefore that the testimony of Irenæus remains in full force.' He reaches the same result on considering the utterances of Polycrates. 'Let a body look at the testimony for undisputed historical facts, and he will find few that can be compared in weight to the declarations we have just considered about the apostle John's activity in Asia Minor. How much, that even the boldest criticism has not yet dared to touch, would

have to be banished to the realm of fable, were it the custom for our historical students, without urgent reasons, to deny all power of proof to such original records as the letter of Irenæus to Florinus !'

It is always a serious matter to refute a well attested and generally received historical tradition only by an 'argument from silence.' We noted for ourselves long ago what Varnhagen von Ense²⁹ said in 1839, which Krenkel also recalls :³⁰ 'Humboldt confirms a statement I have often made, that we dare not draw too much from the silence of an author. He refers to three weighty and quite undeniable facts, to which there is no testimony in the very places where we should most certainly expect it. In the archives of Barcelona there is no trace of the triumphant entrance received by Columbus there. In Marco Polo there is no mention of the Chinese Wall. And in the archives of Portugal there is nothing about the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci in the service of that crown.' But this argument is the very one that decides for Keim as well as for Scholten. Grimm³¹ remarked that an absolute necessity of the mention must be shown before silence can prove anything ; and he pointed with reason to the first epistle of Peter, which is addressed to a Pauline church, and in which, therefore, we must have looked for a reference to Paul, no matter who wrote it. The expectations with which Keim and Scholten think they have a right to go to the different writings of the second century scarcely compare with the right of that expectation for the epistle of Peter.

The New Testament.

Even the Revelation is a proof against the tradition in Scholten's opinion. For if this book in the year 68

is fictitiously ascribed by its author to the apostle John, then the apostle cannot have been in Ephesus at that time, and, indeed, cannot have been still living.³² It is easy to show how frail this objection is. That the Revelation arose in proconsular Asia is unquestionable. If the John it speaks of be really the apostle, then the apostle lived there. Is it a fiction? Yet this fiction were impossible if there never had been an apostle John there. If it be another John, and only confounded with the apostle, this presupposes that they knew of an apostle John in Asia Minor. And this holds good as early as Justin, in 150, since Justin, right or wrong, ascribed the Revelation to the apostle. So even he believed in a residence of the apostle in Asia Minor. Yes, Keim thinks it possible³³ that they attributed the Revelation to the apostle John from the beginning of the second century. Then this tradition of the Ephesian residence must have been already in existence at that time. This, however, is so near the very time of John, that the tradition could not have existed if it contradicted the fact. And so the Revelation becomes a proof of that tradition.

The book of Acts says nothing of John in Ephesus,³⁴ because he was not there yet at the time it tells of. The same reason applies to the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians. But, says the critic, they were written, at the earliest, not until about 80. And how can they then still look upon Paul as the great apostle of Asia Minor if John had already taken his place?³⁵ The reason is plain enough. If they really had been written so late, they would have been fathered upon Paul, so as to assert his authority. Holtzmann makes the epistle to the Ephesians to have arisen at Ephesus about the year 100,³⁶ and then asks how its author is compatible with the alleged apostle John in Ephesus.³⁷ That is no difficulty as long as the proof for the late

composition of the epistle to the Ephesians is so poor, and the representation of the apostle John is so incorrect. Much the same may be said for the epistles to Timothy.³⁸ If they are genuine, John cannot occur in them. If they are not genuine, then the fiction likewise goes back to the time before John.

Ignatius.

It seems 'strange,' even to Grimm,³⁹ that the Ignatian letters say nothing of John. Even the ones to Polycarp and to the Ephesians do not mention this name. Krenkel, as we said a moment ago, replies 'that the zealous Pauline author is silent about John, as on the contrary Justin Martyr, who prizes John and his Revelation,' designedly does not name Paul.⁴⁰ We must give up this refuge. For we do not believe in the rugged Jewish-Christian, which the newer criticism makes out of John, nor do we find that Justin's silence is designed. Why should Ignatius mention John in his letter to Polycarp? He was not his scholar, and he had probably never seen him.⁴¹ He mentions Paul in the letter to the Ephesian church.⁴² But it is the likeness between the way of his death and of Paul's that leads him to recall Paul: *πάροδος ἐστε τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων· Παύλου συμμύσται, τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου ἀξιομακαρίστου, οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι, κτλ.* ('ye are the way for those who are taken up to God: consecrated with Paul, the sainted, the martyred, of blessed memory, in whose footsteps may I be found,' etc.). He, like Paul, Acts xx., passed by them on his way to death. They had been consecrated together with the one consecrated to death, etc. Thus may he too be found in the footsteps of this way through death to blessedness. As such a

one, who desires to be like Paul, he writes to them as Paul wrote to them. In a parallel of this kind there was no room to mention John.⁴³ Moreover, Ignatius speaks of the apostles in general with whom the Ephesians had had intercourse.⁴⁴ The plural certainly can be rhetorical. But it does not need to be so, and there is no reason why it should be so. On the contrary, the glorifying the Ephesian church,⁴⁵ in connection with this passage,⁴⁶ recalls what Irenæus says⁴⁷ about Ephesus as a witness to the truth in connection with the activity of Paul and John there.

Polycarp.

Polycarp's letter is directed to the Pauline church at Philippi. What right have we to expect the apostle John to be spoken of here? Much less is it to be perceived, in the report of the church of Smyrna about the martyrdom of Polycarp, how there could have been in it even a chance to say anything of the apostle John. This report does not deal with the early life of the bishop, but only with the death of the martyr.

Papias.

It would be a critical thing if Papias' silence were equivalent to a denial of John's Ephesian residence. Keim,⁴⁸ indeed, calls him not simply silent, but speaking. Whence do we know that Papias in his compilation said nothing of John? Because Eusebius does not tell us anything about it. As if he would have had any reason to think that necessary! But 'at any rate,' writes Holtzmann⁴⁹ as quoted above, 'one of

the last of those who knew the lost *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* ("explanations of the sayings of the Lord"), Georgios Hamartolos, writing in the ninth century, read in that work that John the son of Zebedee had been killed by the Jews—therefore probably in Palestine, and not in Ephesus.' Keim,⁶⁰ on the ground of that 'new-discovered testimony of Papias, which puts an end to all illusions, and rejoices in the concurrence of the Gnostic Heracleon,' follows Holtzmann verbally: 'therefore in Judea, and before the destruction of Jerusalem.' Were there no Jews in Ephesus, by whom an apostle could be killed? Or had only the Jews of Palestine the needed fanaticism, that is, on the supposition that John is really said to have been killed by the hand of Jews?

But it is curious that no one else knows anything about this save that Georgios Hamartolos in the ninth century! His case, however, is very uncertain. According to Nolte,⁶¹ the *Codex Coisl.*, after 'Ἐφέσω ('Ephesus'), goes on: *μόνος τότε περιὼν τῷ βίῳ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν καὶ συγγραφάμενος τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ ἱεραπόλειος ἐπίσκοπος αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθη πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν περὶ τούτου καὶ συνκατάθεσιν* ('he alone of the twelve disciples then remaining alive, and having written his gospel; for he was reckoned worthy of martyrdom. For Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who himself saw this one [John], says in the second book of the "sayings of the Lord," that he was slain by the Jews, having certainly fulfilled with his brother what Christ had said about them, and their own confession concerning and agreement with Him'). And then follows the well-known account, Matt. xx. 20 ff. In other manuscripts the whole passage is

wanting. So it is uncertain enough. But even if genuine, it appears, as it reads, to arise from a confounding John with his brother James. Perhaps Georgios glanced at Papias too hastily. If, however, he read aright, then they must let him hold good for the other fact, that he puts John in Ephesus, and makes Papias to have seen him personally, *αὐτόπτης*, for these items stand in too close connection to permit of taking one and throwing away the other. The thing they reject is what is generally testified to; and the thing they accept is what nobody else in the world testifies to. Did Georgios actually read in Papias that statement about John in Ephesus? And Eusebius and Irenæus, of whom we know that they were acquainted with Papias' work, have not found a word of this surprising news therein! For otherwise they would not have given an entirely different account of John, and that information would not have disappeared tracelessly from the memory of the Church. Wonderful! Those words of an obscure author of the ninth century pass as an authority; and what Irenæus of Asia Minor and the rest tell is thought to be nothing! Now for the alleged confirmation by Heracleon. Heracleon⁵² 'can only cite Matthew, Philip, and Thomas as apostles not martyred.' This is said to confirm the statement of Georgios Hamartolos.⁵³ Grimm only took a few lines⁵⁴ to prove that the appeal to this alleged testimony rests on mere hastiness. When Clement of Alexandria refers to this about Heracleon, he is speaking not of a martyrdom, but only of a confession—*ὁμολογία, διὰ τῆς φωνῆς*—before the authorities, and not only 'Matthew, Philip, and Thomas,' but also *Λεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί* ('Levi and many others'). Even Scholten⁵⁵ acknowledges the nothingness of Keim's alleged reasons.

But do not Papias' own words, where he speaks of his sources, shut out the Ephesian residence of John? We must dwell longer upon this. The words Eusebius has kept for us⁵⁶ from the introduction to Papias' book read thus: *Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα συντάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀληθείαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινόμενας* [Lämmer and Heinichen have *παραγινόμενοις*] *τῆς ἀληθείας· εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκμνον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης* ('Nor shall I hesitate, moreover, to add to the interpretations whatever I learned well at any time from the elders, and have remembered carefully, for I am convinced of its truth. For I did not use to delight, after the manner of the multitude, in those who talked about all sorts of things, but in those who taught true things; not in those who told about strange commands, but in those [who recalled] the [commands] given by the Lord unto faith, and [the commands] springing from the truth itself. And if any one happened to come along who had been with the elders, I asked [him] about the words of the elders: what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples [said], and what Aristion and the elder [presbyter] John, the disciples of the Lord, say; for I did not think that the things out of the books did me so

much good as those from a voice that was alive and remained'). Papias here speaks of the motive as well as of the sources and the contents of his work. 'For I did not find my pleasure in those who speak much (many kinds of things), as the multitude (takes its pleasure therein), but in those who teach the true; nor in those who enjoin singular commands, but in those who (inculcate the commands) given by the Lord unto faith, and springing from the truth itself;' or, according to the other reading, 'and in those who issued from the truth itself (namely, in the Church).'

These words recall strikingly Polycarp's letter:⁵⁷ διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδο-διδασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν ('wherefore, leaving the folly of the multitude and the false teachings, let us turn to the word handed down to us from the beginning'). Here, too, the πολλοί ('multitude') are spoken of who find their pleasure in ματαιότης ('folly'), the same thing as λέγειν τὰ πολλά ('to talk much'). Here, too, the word handed down to us from the beginning, or, as Papias says, given over by the Lord Himself to faith, is the thing contrasted with this folly. Now the words in Polycarp's letter are an attack upon Docetic Gnosticism. Resting on the criterion of the truth in 1 John iv. 3, he combats Docetism, only in a more advanced stage, just as 1 John combats it: ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ λέγῃ μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὗτος πρωτότοκος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν, κτλ.⁵⁸ ('whoever does not confess the martyrdom of the cross is of the devil; and whosoever wrests the words of the Lord according to his private likings, and says that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, this man is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore, leaving the

folly of the multitude,' etc.). Polycarp speaks of such as did not confess the cross of Christ, and therefore probably taught that Christ had not truly suffered, because He had not truly been man.⁶⁹ They, moreover, denied the future resurrection and the judgment, and so erred as to the importance of our corporeality; in accordance with which error they twisted 'the words of the Lord,' by interpreting them in the sense of a false spirituality. Herewith they gave freedom to the flesh, and therefore Polycarp sends forth these words in an exhortation to watchfulness, soberness, and prayer. He calls this false teaching a *ματαιότης τῶν πολλῶν* ('folly of the multitude'). It made a show of being something great, but nevertheless had no foundation; and it wrought a corrupting influence on the multitude. It was a real danger. Hence the first epistle of John opposed it, hence the Ignatian letters combated it, and hence Polycarp here warns from it. Papias' work was also directed against this. When Polycarp says of those deceivers, that they *τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου μεθοδεύουσιν* ('wrest the words of the Lord'), and Papias calls his work *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* ('explanations of the words of the Lord'), we may conclude that Papias did not simply try to gather all manner of items, but at the same time to meet the wresting of the Lord's words with the right understanding of them. For this purpose he went back to the original apostolic tradition, to give an authentic interpretation of the words of the Lord. He is busied with this interpretation. If his opponent be that false spiritualism against which Polycarp also gave warning, we can see why he laid stress on the realistic side of the Christian doctrine of salvation, and, with an especial view to those denying the resurrection and the like, laid stress on the realistic character of the future kingdom of Christ. Thus his chiliastic utterances

explain themselves without difficulty from the purpose of his book. Besides, they bore a stamp that was not akin to the spiritualistic theology of Alexandria, and did not please Eusebius.

To confirm his explanations, he names the sources of his information. He has from the apostles what he gives. The point is, was this only indirectly, or directly as well? Irenæus calls Papias a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, that is, in this discipleship. On the other hand, Eusebius remarks that Papias in this preface does not call himself anything of the kind:⁶⁰ ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρειληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι' ὧν φησι λέξεων ('he does not show anywhere that he himself was a hearer and seer of the holy apostles, and he teaches that he received the things regarding the faith at the hands of those who knew them ['the apostles']; this he says in these words'); and then follow the words quoted above. Eusebius' view rests simply on the preface, and not on any other information. In this preface it is clear that Papias speaks of *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders'), and not of *ἀπόστολοι* ('apostles'). Eusebius renders this by *παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων* ('from those who knew them'), and shows what occasioned his explanation, but what, we are forced to say, misled him. For it is plain that the apostles, and not the apostles' pupils, are to be understood by Papias' *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders'). It is true *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders') is, in church usage, the expression for rulers of a church.⁶¹ Irenæus⁶² calls Polycarp the *μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος* ('blessed and apostolic elder'). Writing to the bishop of Rome,⁶³ Victor, he uses the phrases: οἱ πρὸ Σωτήρος πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἦς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγῇ . . . οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι, κτλ. ('the elders before Soter, those ruling the church which thou now ledest. . . . The

elders before thee,' etc.). But the signification of age lies at the base of this official signification, and is not entirely lost in it. The Latin translation of Irenæus, which probably arose in his own day, renders *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders') by 'veteres' ('men of old')⁶⁴ and 'seniores' ('elders'),⁶⁵ or used alternately with it⁶⁶ 'quidam ante nos' ('certain before our day'). Or he used for Papias instead *ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ* ('an ancient man'),⁶⁷ or *τὶς τῶν προβεβηκότων* ('one of those who preceded us').⁶⁸ Hence we are to take in this way the *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders') to whom Irenæus repeatedly appeals. They are men of an earlier generation, who at the same time held an official position. In like manner, in Papias also, this expression betokens first of all generally the men of the previous generation who had an authoritative position. The connection then determines it more closely. Papias tells that he asked after *τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λόγους* ('the words of the elders'), and then mentions none but apostles, the list ending with *ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν* ('or any other of the Lord's disciples'). Hence he calls the apostles *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders'), and uses identically with this 'the disciples of the Lord,' unquestionably in the sense of the immediate discipleship. They are men of the first generation. From them he distinguishes others who gave him information when he writes: *εἰ δέ πού καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροισι ἔλθοι* ('and if any one happened to come along who had been with the elders'). He clearly refers here to the use of *παρακολουθεῖν* ('to have understanding of') in Luke i. 3. These are men of the second generation, with whom he had a great deal of intercourse.

We may then draw the sure conclusion that Papias understands apostles by *πρεσβύτεροι* ('elders').⁶⁹ He puts the article before it. It is the categorical article.

He designates the circle of the apostles as his source. The question is, as we have already said, whether this is indirectly or directly. The preposition *παρά* ('from') speaks plainly for the second. It designates personal mediation, and is the fittest preposition to express the relation of pupil to teacher and the like.⁷⁰ Hence Zahn⁷¹ was right in urging against Weizsäcker⁷² that '*μανθάνειν παρά τινος* never means anything else than "to learn from one" by instruction received personally.' Steitz, too, agreed with him on that point.⁷³ If Papias only wished to say that his information came finally from the circle of the apostles, and had passed thence through various mediums, it would have been more correct for him to use *ἀπό* ('from'). We have no reason to attribute to him this want of exactness in the use of the prepositions. If his statements rest partly on direct information from the circle of the apostles, then we understand also that, as he so strongly emphasizes it, he impressed them well on his memory, and can vouch for their truth (*καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα . . . διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν*, 'I learned well and remembered carefully, . . . being convinced of their truth'). That can only be said exactly in the case of knowledge gained directly, and not when it has passed through other hands. Therefore it would follow from these words that Papias had spoken to very apostles. How many and which he does not say. This would be confirmed if Lämmer's and Heinichen's *τοῖς . . . ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγυομένοις τῇς ἀληθείας* ('in those . . . coming forth from the truth itself') were right. It rests on the manuscripts Ea G H I S, but, above all, on O, the one that Lämmer declares⁷⁴ to be the oldest (tenth century) and the best, and on which he bases his edition. According to the common text the words would read: 'I took pleasure . . . in those who (urged the commands)

given to faith by the Lord, and springing from the truth itself.' According to the revised text: 'In those who (urge the commands) given to faith by the Lord, and who spring from the truth itself.' The truth itself is Christ. Those that issue from Him are His disciples, the apostles, *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι* ('the elders'). Therefore, by this reading, Papias had intercourse with these.

Then the next words join on fitly: *εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκῶς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι* ('and if any one who had been with the elders chanced to come'). When one looks at the text as a whole, the first impression will always be that this is the contrast to the first: *ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον, κτλ.* ('whatever I learned well at any time from the elders,' etc.). He names with a clear distinction the double source: the direct and the indirect, the apostles and the apostles' pupils. To escape this admission, the words *εἰ δέ που καὶ, κτλ.* ('and if,' etc.) can be taken as a limitation of the preceding general statement with regard to his sources of information. In this case, *εἰ δέ που, κτλ.* ('and if,' etc.) would stand contrasted not with the beginning, but with the words immediately before them. It may be said, at least, that this reference is less simple, and is hardly suggested by the general tenor. If, however, the reading *παραγινόμενοις* be right, as the manuscript authorities declare, then this explanation is impossible.

And so we may hold that Papias here names his second source. As often as he had a chance, he sought⁷⁶ from the apostles' pupils whom he met the words of the elders ('of the apostles'),—'what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew or another of the disciples of the Lord [said].' He cares most of all for the exact apostolic tradition. Hence he gives none but apostles'

names. Krenkel's notion that John may be the name of some one not an apostle, or the notion that the names of those not apostles could occur among these, is impossible from the whole context, as said already.⁷⁶ The singular position of John and Matthew at the end of the list is most simply explained by the fact, that as gospels from both these were before him, he had less occasion to ask and less interest in asking for their sayings by word of mouth than in the case of the others, who had not penned the 'words of the Lord.' That Papias asks pupils of the apostles for the apostles' sayings is not against his having himself seen and heard the apostles. We do not know how far he was conversant with apostles. Possibly it was only to a limited extent. And in any case it would have been his care to fill out his knowledge by what he could get from others. No more is the naming of John a proof that John was not among the *πρεσβύτεροι* whom he knew personally. Whether John was among them or not, we certainly do not know. Papias does not say so, but neither does he deny it.

A second list follows this: ἄτε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης οἱ (Lämmer, with E a G H O S, leaves οἱ out) τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν ('and what Aristion and the elder [presbyter] John, the disciples of the Lord, say'). This list does not open with the interrogative, as the last did, but with the relative. Hence it is to be taken not as parallel to the τί, κτλ. ('what,' etc.),⁷⁷ but to the τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λόγους ('the words of the elders'):⁷⁸ 'I sought after what Aristion and . . . say.' These he asked himself, not seeking their statements from others. Hence he puts the present (λέγουσιν, 'say') here, and not the preterite (εἶπεν, 'said') as before. He adds this second list to the first, for these too are disciples of the Lord. That naturally means direct disciples,⁷⁹ and not generally confessors of the

truth or the like, as Weizsäcker* says,⁸⁰ or else there would be no sense in this addition.

Of Aristion we know nothing. The presbyter John has always made a good bit of trouble, or else has had to do a great deal of service. Eusebius uses him at once, to ascribe the Revelation to him,⁸¹ and says that Papias often names him as the voucher for his statements.⁸² Whether he did this with a careful distinction of him from the apostle, or with any other closer statements, Eusebius does not say; and as we no longer have Papias' work, we do not know. We really know nothing else about this presbyter John. It is true that the *Apostolic Constitutions*⁸³ make him bishop of Ephesus and successor of the apostle. But Polycrates, the bishop of Ephesus, who knew the traditions, does not name him. Jerome⁸⁴ tells of doubts as to whether both the graves at Ephesus, the one called the apostle's and the other the presbyter's, did not belong to the apostle. That probably means that they doubted the existence of the presbyter. And when the second and third epistles of John name the *πρεσβύτερος* ('elder' or 'presbyter') in the heading as the author, their character leads us at once to ascribe them to the author of the first epistle, that is, to the apostle. It is therefore not to be wondered at that Zahn,⁸⁵ Riggenbach chiming in, has renewed Guericke's attempt, and according to Papias' use of words, understands by the presbyter in this passage the apostle, whom Papias in the second place names once more as a direct source. The simplest thing then would be to understand the article demonstratively: Aristion and the (just-named) presbyter John. This would certainly be the simplest solution of the riddle. To me, however, one thing seems to forbid this—the addition of *οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί* ('the disciples of the Lord'). If the presbyter be the apostle, this is unnecessary, for it was said before. But it was

necessary in Aristion's case. Then it would have followed his name, and *ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης* ('the elder [or presbyter] John') must have come after that title. But as the words read, they bring a second list after the first, and therefore a second John after the apostle. According to this we shall probably have to let the matter rest thus: that besides the apostle John there was still another 'disciple of the Lord' of like name. He, no less than the apostle, reached a great age and was held in authority, as one who belonged to the earliest days of Christianity, although but few recollections of him have been preserved. He has to a degree disappeared from the memory of Christendom. Not only does Irenæus say nothing about him, but also Clement of Alexandria is silent, let alone Tertullian and Origen. We have no right to fill up this empty space with our own guesses.⁸⁶

The other contents of Papias' words do not belong here. Let us gather up the results of our researches. Papias carries his tradition back to its sources. His vouchers belong to the first and to the second generation. His information springs from apostles or other disciples of Jesus, like Aristion and the presbyter John, and from pupils of the apostles of Jesus. Therefore at an earlier time, *πότε* ('once'), probably in his youth, he spoke to apostles. Whether John was among them or not, he does not say here, but neither does he deny it. If Eusebius denies it on the ground of this passage, he is at fault. It is easy to see why he was not ready to bring the chiliastic Papias into union with the apostle John himself. When Irenæus declares that Papias was a pupil of John's, he would in like manner have been at fault if he had inferred it from this passage. But where does he say that? He could easily have it from other traditions in Asia Minor. Hence Papias is no witness against John's residence

at Ephesus. He is rather a witness for it. His 'chiliasm' is connected with the Revelation, with which he was acquainted, according to the testimony of Andrew and Arethas, the commentators on the Revelation. But the home of the Revelation was Asia Minor, where, as we saw by Justin's testimony, it was ascribed to the apostle John. It is no matter whether this was right or wrong. But this opinion, seeing that it was actual, must have been possible. Had at that time, namely, about the middle of the second century, nothing been known of a residence of John's at Ephesus, the Revelation could not have been ascribed to him, and that view would therefore have been impossible. Further, we know that Papias was acquainted with the first epistle of John. That may serve to assure us that he also knew the gospel of John. Where they had these books, they had them as John's, and the tradition of John's Ephesian residence was bound to them. We cannot separate the two, for they did not exist apart from each other.

Justin.

It is odd for Scholten⁸⁷ to claim that Justin would have had to mention John's Ephesian residence if he had known anything about it. Do we know that he did not mention it? Scholten thinks that, were this the case, Irenæus would have appealed to Justin. As if Irenæus of Asia Minor, who appealed to his own knowledge, would have needed Justin's testimony! It is enough that Justin attributes the Revelation to John. That puts him in Asia Minor.

Hegesippus.

Scholten⁸⁸ thinks that the silence of the historian Hegesippus is still more strange. If we only could have had his five books, *ὑπομνήματα* ('recollections')! As, however, we have them not, we can neither know nor say what stood in them. Hegesippus said⁸⁹ that until Simeon the Church was a pure virgin, and that heresy then for the first time raised its head openly. Scholten thinks that this excludes the tradition of the antagonism between John and Cerinthus. But Cerinthus was outside of the Church, while Hegesippus speaks of the time at which the heretical Gnosticism began to come forward publicly in the Church. Besides, what he says in general is not to be taken so strictly.

Apollonius.

The anti-Montanist Apollonius of Asia Minor⁹⁰ tells us that John raised a dead man at Ephesus. Scholten, in contrast with Keim, admits that this is to be understood of John the apostle. Whatever the case may be as to this raising of the dead, in any event the story is a proof of the tradition of John's residence at Ephesus. Apollonius wrote forty years after Montanus' appearance, and so earlier than Irenæus. The less can it be said, then, that he depends on Irenæus. He represents independently the tradition in Asia Minor. The error must also have arisen in this tradition. Apollonius, moreover, was familiar with the traditions there. He refers his opponents to the public archives of Asia.

Irenæus.

The decision rests at last in Irenæus' statements. Let us first, following Scholten and Krenkel, put together the sayings of Irenæus that come into question here.

(1.) 'All the elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*), who in Asia met (*συμβεβληκότες*) with John, the disciple of the Lord, testify that John handed this down [namely, that Jesus was between forty and fifty years old].⁹¹ For he remained among them till Trajan's time. Some of them, however, saw not only John but also other apostles.'⁹²

(2.) 'Afterwards [that is, after the first three], John, the disciple of the Lord, who also lay on His breast, likewise published the gospel while dwelling at Ephesus.'⁹³

(3.) 'Polycarp not only was instructed by the apostles, and had intercourse with many who had seen Christ, but he was also installed by the apostles as bishop in Asia in the church at Smyrna. We also saw him [Polycarp] in our earliest youth (*ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*), for he lived very long, and left this life at a great age, having suffered a glorious and brilliant martyrdom, and having always taught what he had learned from the apostles. . . . And there are some who have heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, when he went to the baths in Ephesus and saw Cerinthus in them, sprang out of the bath-house without bathing, and added the words: "Let us fly for fear the bath-house fall down, because Cerinthus is in it, the enemy of the truth." . . . Also the church at Ephesus, founded by Paul, and with which John lived till Trajan's time, is a truthful witness to the tradition of the apostles.'⁹⁴

(4.) ‘Since these things are so, and this number [namely, 666] stands in all the most careful and ancient manuscripts; and even those who saw John face to face testify to it, and reason teaches us, that the number of the beast according to the reckoning of the Greeks is expressed by the letters [of the alphabet] on him,’ etc.⁹⁵

(5.) ‘Just as the elders (“presbyteri”) who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, remember to have heard from him how the Lord taught and spoke of those times.’⁹⁶

(6.) ‘Papias also, an old man (*ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ*), who was John’s pupil and Polycarp’s companion, testifies this in writing in the fourth of his books. For he wrote five books. He says that as Judas the traitor did not believe, and asked: “How shall such results (‘genituræ’) be wrought by the Lord?” the Lord said: “They who get there shall see it.”’⁹⁷

(7.) In the letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome:⁹⁸ ‘Besides, the elders before Soter, who ruled the church which thou now leadest, namely Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus and Telesphorus and Xystus, neither celebrated themselves [that is to say, the 14th Nisan, *τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην τοῦ πάσχα*, “the fourteenth day of the passover”], nor permitted it to those around them. And nevertheless they, not celebrating, kept the peace with those who came to them from the churches in which the celebration took place, although the celebration was much more offensive to those not celebrating. Nor were any ever shut out on account of this custom (*εἶδος*, “consuetudo”); but while they themselves, the elders before thee, did not celebrate, they sent the Lord’s supper to those of other churches who did celebrate. And when the sainted Polycarp visited Rome under Anicetus, and they had some differences on a few other points, yet they soon con-

cluded peace, without wishing to strive with each other about this chief point (μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς). For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to celebrate, because he had always attended to the celebration with John, the disciple of our Lord, and with the other apostles, with whom he had had converse. Nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to celebrate, because he declared that he must hold fast to the custom of the elders before him.'

(8.) In the letter to Florinus:⁹⁹ 'The elders before us, who also conversed with the apostles, did not hand down these principles to thee. For I, when I was yet a boy, saw thee in Lower Asia with Polycarp, as thou wast in a brilliant position at the royal court, and did strive to gain his good opinion (εὐδοκιμεῖν). For I remember the things that happened then better than those that have happened lately. For what has been learned in boyhood (ἐκ παιδων) grows up with the soul and becomes one with it, so that I can still tell the place in which the sainted Polycarp sat when he taught (διελέγετο), and his outgoings and incomings, and his way of life, and his bodily form, and the discourses he gave to the people, and how he told about his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he gave their words, and what kind of things he had heard from them about the Lord and His miracles and His teaching, [and] how [another edition inserts ὁ διδάσκαλος, "the teacher"] Polycarp told the things he had received from the eye-witnesses of the word of life (παρὰ τῶν αὐτόπτων τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου, "ab iis qui verbum vitæ ipsi conspexerant"), all in agreement with the Scriptures. This I heard then with zeal, by the mercy of God that was toward me, writing it down for remembrance not on paper, but in my heart; and I go over again to myself (ἀναμαρυνκῶμαι) always by God's grace correctly. And I can witness before God,

that if that sainted and apostolic elder (πρεσβύτερος) had heard anything of that kind, he would have cried out, stopped his ears, and, saying as he was wont: "O good God, unto what kind of times hast Thou kept me, that I must endure these things?" would have fled even from the place in which he was sitting or standing when he heard such words.'

In all these passages Irenæus is unquestionably speaking of the apostle John. What he tells about him is based, aside from the Scriptures, on the traditions in Asia Minor. His witnesses for these things are not merely Polycarp, but also the elders in general who were in Asia with John. Take as much as you please from the accounts of these elders, their intercourse with John still remains. It is truly queer presumption to assume that Irenæus misunderstood not only Polycarp but these as well, they having spoken not of the apostle but of some other John. What could be the sense in this? For their testimony is brought into connection with the understanding of certain passages in John's writings, both in the gospel—as in number 1—and in the Revelation—as in numbers 4–6—which Irenæus, like the others of his day, held to be apostolic. Suppose, however, they say that Irenæus did not himself speak to those elders, but took their sayings at second hand. That would only be to shove that error altogether farther back into the tradition of Asia Minor. This is what Irenæus took with him to Gaul, and when he left Asia Minor he was mature enough to know this tradition well.

It is not enough to assume that the anti-Gnostic prejudice led Irenæus to seek apostolic authority for the tradition which he represented. Anti-Gnostic interest is not the only thing in hand here. Nor is it the case that the witnesses of the earlier time became

apostles arbitrarily for him when dealing with such an interest. He distinguishes decidedly between apostles and others who saw Jesus, as in number 3. Therefore he could probably have kept apart the apostle John and the presbyter of like name.¹⁰⁰

The error alleged is made altogether impossible by what he says about his teacher Polycarp, in number 8. He puts him in direct pupilship to witnesses of Jesus in general, to apostles, and especially to John, in number 3. He appeals to such as have heard him tell about the apostle John, his meeting Cerinth in the bath, and the like, in number 3. He reminds the Roman bishop of Polycarp's official dealings with his predecessor in Rome, and of Polycarp's appeal to the custom of the apostles in celebrating the passover, in number 7. He could not make such an appeal in a letter he wrote as bishop to the Roman bishop, if it could not be made good from the papers. Had John not been in Ephesus, and could Polycarp not have appealed to him, Irenæus' whole argument was gone. There must have been in the archives of the bishop notes and documents about this. Had it not been as Irenæus said, he could at any moment have been convicted of error. This did not happen, because it could not. In any other case it would have happened. If in Rome, where they laid such weight on apostolic authority and tradition, they could have raised objections, they would not have taken in silence this appeal to the apostles, and above all to John, in favour of the custom in Asia Minor.¹⁰¹ Thus the tradition of the Roman, no less than that of the Asiatic church, gives testimony for the apostle's residence in Asia Minor.

Then for a needless plenty we have the youthful recollections contained in the letter to Florinus. They are so fresh and living, we feel so vividly what a care-

fully fostered and cherished treasure these memories were for the ripe man, and the tone in which he speaks of them to the friend of his youth is so confident and sure of the matter, that deception is impossible. Florinus could have discovered it at once. But he is made a fellow-witness. The truth rests in the mouth of two witnesses. This letter alone is enough to prove John's residence at Ephesus. Scholten helped himself by declaring the letter spurious. That is the resort of desperation.¹⁰² What motive could give a foundation for making up such a letter, seeing that it contains no doctrinal discussion or the like? To say nothing of the testimony of antiquity, the letter is confirmed by the warm pulse-beat that we feel all through it. But even if Scholten could do the impossible, and put aside this letter, the letter to Rome would in any case be left. Therefore Irenæus' testimony is not to be thrown out. Moreover, it is not merely an individual testimony, into which misunderstandings might have crept. Irenæus does not bring forward his own view, but appeals to the youthful recollections of Florinus, to the official information of the Roman church, and to the tradition of the church in Asia Minor. The testimony of the other churches stands by his account, and is independent of it.

Even if the impossible were real, and, as far as Irenæus was concerned, the apostle had thrust himself into the place of the unknown presbyter, do they mean to say that this same confusion was also taken up by the other witnesses to that tradition, and indeed by the whole ancient church? In that case this hypothesis loses itself in absurdity. For it is not true that Irenæus started the mistake, and that the rest of the Church took it up on his authority. The testimony of the ancient church for John, the writer of the Revelation, is also an indirect testimony for that tradition.

To them the writer of the Revelation is the apostle, and the home of the Revelation is Asia Minor. This tradition, however, is independent of Irenæus. Besides Apollonius, the Alexandrian Clement and the Ephesian bishop Polycrates stand independently by the side of Irenæus as direct witnesses. We saw above that Clement made his own researches, and had independent sources, as his own statements show.¹⁰³ Polycrates does not bring mere 'fancy pictures' and 'rhetoric.'¹⁰⁴ No less than seven of his relations had served as bishops. And thus, in opposing the Roman bishop Victor, he could appeal to the rich tradition of his house, as well as to the other great witnesses of the church in Asia Minor. Among these, it is true, he does not mention the presbyter John, of whom he seems to know nothing, but he does mention the apostle. Hitherto no testimony in the passover question stood as more reliable than that of Polycrates. Shall it be said that he too was led astray by Irenæus? He did not need that western man to get information about the tradition of his own home church. If any church was a church of tradition, it was the church in Asia Minor, the church of Polycarp and Polycrates. The recognition of this forces itself on Keim¹⁰⁵ when he admits: 'No one could call any other church, and especially not the new, past-less, Gentile-Christian church of Palestine, a real church of ancient witnesses, like the church of Asia Minor, with such holy and untiring zeal as that of the old men Polycarp and Polycrates.'

But to these witnesses belonged first of all the apostle John! Did they all confound the presbyter with the apostle? And yet it was not simply the name that was kept. It was the whole image of his personality and of his priestly rule which was fixed in the memory of the church in Asia Minor.

The Apostle Philip.

They cannot appeal to the confusion between the apostle Philip and the deacon of the same name. That case is altogether different. Eusebius¹⁰⁶ certainly does transfer the note in Acts xxi. 9, as to the four prophetically-gifted daughters of the deacon living at Cæsarea, to the apostle Philip, living at Hierapolis. But we do not need to transfer to the deacon Philip what Clement of Alexandria¹⁰⁷ says about the marriage of the daughters of Philip, and what Polycrates¹⁰⁸ says about the three daughters of Philip, two of whom died virgins, and the third of whom, probably married, was buried at Ephesus. Supposing, however, that there were some confusion here, it would not be necessary for us to help ourselves by taking Acts xxi. 9 to be a later addition.¹⁰⁹ The mingling of the deacon with the apostle in the memory of the Church would be easily explained. For tradition tells little about the apostle, while the deacon exercised an important activity as an evangelist. On the other hand, as to John, we know nothing of the presbyter, while the apostle was one of the foremost in the circle of the apostles. Moreover, a numerous throng of disciples traced themselves back to him, and in weighty questions of doctrine and discipline the tradition of the Church appealed to him.

We may close with the twofold result. In the first place, it is inconceivable that Irenæus confounded the presbyter with the apostle: he knew how to keep apostles separate from other disciples of the Lord; the recollections to which he appeals are quite clear; and his testimony is such that it cannot be cast aside by those who oppose him. And in the second place, Irenæus' mistake, if it had existed, would not have

been to blame for the confusion; for we find that tradition of the apostle's Ephesian residence, in Asia Minor as well as in Rome and in Alexandria, quite independent of Irenæus. So if anything in the world should pass for a historical tradition, this must.

But the Tübingen criticism has always drawn, as it thinks, an unanswerable argument against the apostolic composition of the fourth gospel from this tradition. They say that the chronology of the last supper and of the death of Jesus in this gospel stands in irreconcilable contradiction with the tradition of John's custom in celebrating the passover at Ephesus.

¹ Vogel, *Das Evangelist Johannes und seine Ausleger vor dem jüngsten Gericht* (Hof), 1801, p. 6 f.

² Reuterdaht, *De Fontibus Historianæ Eusebianæ*, Lond. Goth. (Lund in Sweden), 1826, p. 24 ff.

³ Lützelberger, *Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes und seine Schriften in ihrer Grundlosigkeit nachgewiesen*, Leipzig, 1840, p. 198.

⁴ Grimm, *Ersch und Gruber Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 2te Section, 22ter Theil, Leipzig, 1843, p. 6 ff., 'Johannes der Apostel;' and p. 217 ff., 'Johannes der Presbyter.'

⁵ Schwegler, *Die neueste Johanneische Literatur, Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1842, p. 293 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 300.

⁷ Weisse, *Berliner Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1840, vol. ii. Nos. 21-23; and the reviewer (was it Schnitzer?) of the *Halle'schen Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 1840, Nos. 134-137.

⁸ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 161 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 164.

¹¹ Wittichen, *Das geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 102 f.

¹² Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Colosser-briefe auf Grund einer Analyse ihres Verwandschaftsverhältnisses*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 323.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 322.

¹⁴ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1873, 29th March, No. 13, p. 387.

¹⁵ Ziegler, *Des Irenæus Lehre von der Autorität der Schrift, der Tradition, und der Kirche* (Programme of a Berlin Gymnasium), 1868, p. 32 f.

- ¹⁶ Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asien*, Berlin, 1872 (Dutch edition, 1871), pp. 63–73.
- ¹⁷ Ewald, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1867, No. 41, p. 1611.
- ¹⁸ Steitz, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, p. 487 ff.
- ¹⁹ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxii. 6; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 125.
- ²⁰ Eusebius, *ut supra*, IV. xiv. 3, p. 152; Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. iii. 4, edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 176 b.
- ²¹ Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. xviii. 14, p. 224.
- ²² *Ibid.* V. xviii. 9, p. 223.
- ²³ Keim, *Protestantische Kirchen-zeitung*, 1871, p. 535 ff.
- ²⁴ Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1868, p. 230 ff.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* 1872, p. 376 ff. ²⁶ *Ibid.* 1872, p. 378.
- ²⁷ Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, Berlin, 1871, 'John in Ephesus,' pp. 133–178.
- ²⁸ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix.; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) pp. 133–136.
- ²⁹ Varnhagen von Ense, in his *Tageblatt* for 9th June 1839. See also *Briefe von A. v. Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense*, 3d edit. Leipzig, 1860, p. 57 f., note.
- ³⁰ Krenkel, *ut supra*, p. 139.
- ³¹ Grimm, *Ersch und Gruber's Allg. Encyk. d. Wissensch. u. Künste*, 2te Section, 22ter Theil, Leipzig, 1843, pp. 8 and 9.
- ³² Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asien*, Berlin, 1872 (Dutch, 1871), p. 68.
- ³³ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 169.
- ³⁴ Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asien*, Berlin, 1872 (Dutch, 1871), p. 16 ff. ³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 18 f. 4
- ³⁶ Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Colosser-briefe*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 276.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 314. ³⁸ Scholten, *ut supra*, p. 19 f.
- ³⁹ Grimm, *Ersch u. Gruber's Allg. Encyk. d. Wissensch. u. Künste*, 2te Section, 22ter Theil, Leipzig, 1843, p. 8.
- ⁴⁰ Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, Berlin, 1871, p. 137.
- ⁴¹ See above, p. 75.
- ⁴² Ignatius, *Ad Ephesios*, cap. xii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, 2d edit., Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, pp. 130, 132: this whole section, however, chapters xi.–xiii., is wanting in Cureton's recension.
- ⁴³ Leuschner, *Das Evangelium St. Johannis und seine neuesten Widersacher*, Halle, 1873, p. 69.
- ⁴⁴ Ignatius, *Ad Ephesios*, cap. xi.; *ut supra*, pp. 130, 330, 332.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* cap. viii., ix.; pp. 126, 128, and 326, 328.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.* cap. xi.; pp. 130, and 330, 332.

⁴⁷ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. iii. 4; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, pp. 177, 178.

⁴⁸ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 161.

⁴⁹ Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Colosser-briefe*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 322.

⁵⁰ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu n. d. Ergeb. u.s.w.*, Zürich, 1873, p. 42.

⁵¹ Nolte, *Theologische Quartalschrift.*, Tübingen, 1862, p. 466.

⁵² Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, IV.; *Opera*, edit. Sylburg, Cologne, 1688, p. 502 b, c.

⁵³ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, vol. iii. (1872) p. 44 f.

⁵⁴ Grimm, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1874, 1 Heft, p. 121 f.

⁵⁵ Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asien*, Berlin, 1872 (Dutch, 1871), p. 128.

⁵⁶ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix. 3, 4; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 133; Læmmer's edit. III. xl. p. 236; Heinichen's edit. III. xxxix. 3, 4, pp. 147, 148.

⁵⁷ Polycarp, *Epistola ad Philippenses*, cap. vii.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Dressel, 2d edit. Leipzig, 1863, p. 385.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ See the repeated ἀληθῶς ('truly') in the anti-Docetic parts of the Ignatian letters.

⁶⁰ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix. 2; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 133.

⁶¹ See 1 Clement, *Ad Corinthios*, cap. liv., lv.; *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, edit. Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, p. 100: *Ibid.* cap. lvii. p. 102. In the Ignatian letters in distinction from ἐπίσκοπος ('bishop'): Ignatius, *Ad Magnesianos*, cap. iii.; *Ibid.* p. 242: cap. vi., vii.; *Ibid.* p. 246: *Ad Trallianos*, cap. ii., iii., etc.; *Ibid.* pp. 154, 228. Polycarp, *Ad Philippenses*, cap. vi.; *Ibid.* p. 383. *Pastor Hermæ*, vis. ii. 4; *Ibid.* p. 576: πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ('elders, those ruling the Church').

⁶² Irenæus, *Epistola ad Florinum*; *Contra Hæreses*, edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 340: and in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xx. 7; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 227.

⁶³ Irenæus, *Epistola ad Victorem*, Massuet, *ut supra*, pp. 340, 341; and Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. xxiv. 14, 15, p. 233.

⁶⁴ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xxiii. 3; edit. *ut supra*, p. 221 a. [The Greek for this word is not preserved.—C.R.G.]

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* II. xxii. 5, p. 148 a; III. xxi. 2, p. 215 b.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* IV. xli. 2, p. 288 a; edit. Stieren, Leipzig, 1853, IV. lxxix. vol. i. p. 709: Grabe, IV. xxxviii.: edit. Harvey, Cambridge, 1857, IV. lxvii., vol. ii. p. 305.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* V. xxxiii. 4; edit. Massuet, *ut supra*, p. 333.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* V. xvii. 4, p. 314.

⁶⁹ See Riggenbach, *Johannes der Apostel und Presbyter*, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1868, p. 325.

⁷⁰ See, for example, 2 Tim. iii. 14: *σὶδὼς παρὰ τίνων ἔμαθες* ('knowing of whom thou hast learned them').

⁷¹ Zahn, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, p. 659.

⁷² Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung*, Gotha, 1864, p. 28.

⁷³ Steitz, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, p. 66.

⁷⁴ See Lämmer, *Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica*, Schaffhausen, 1859–1862, preface, p. xii., and appendix, p. 873.

⁷⁵ It is likely that ἀνέκρινον ('he was in the habit of asking') was put in the imperfect purposely. See Zahn, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, p. 660.

⁷⁶ See above, p. 71. This reference and the words, 'As said already,' belong to the following sentence on page 136, line 5.

⁷⁷ Steitz takes it with the *αἱ*: *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, p. 74 f.

⁷⁸ See Zahn, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, p. 661.

⁷⁹ See Steitz, *ut supra*, p. 78 f.

⁸⁰ Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*, Gotha, 1864, p. 27.

⁸¹ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix. 6; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871), p. 134.

⁸² *Ibid.* III. xxxix. 7, p. 134.

⁸³ *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vii.–xlv. edit. De Lagarde, Leipzig, 1862, p. 228.

⁸⁴ Jerome, *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum seu De Viris Illustribus*, cap. 9; edit. Cyprianus, Frankfurt and Leipzig (1722), p. 32.

⁸⁵ Zahn, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, p. 662 f. See Weiss' Review of Riggenbach's *Zeugnisse*, u. s. w.; *Studien und Kritiken*, 1867, p. 753.

⁸⁶ [Weingarten (see literature in appendix, number 451) says: 'It is much more likely that the presbyter John at Ephesus is only a legendary character of Papias'.—C.R.G.]

⁸⁷ Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asien*, Berlin, 1872 (Dutch, 1871), p. 82 f.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 35.

⁸⁹ Hegesippus in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV. xxii. 4; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 171.

⁹⁰ Apollonius in Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. xviii. 14, p. 224.

⁹¹ The parenthesis, 'namely, that Jesus was between forty and fifty years old,' is not perfectly exact. According to the words of Irenæus, the testimony of the elders and of the gospel only

touches the 'ætas senior' ('a quadregesimo autem et quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in ætatem seniores, quam habens Dominus noster docebat, sicut evangelium καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν,' κτλ.; 'but from the fortieth and fiftieth year he declines already to the older age, at which our Lord was teaching, as the gospel and all the elders witness,' etc.). The forty to fifty years are an addition of Irenæus', meant to prove that Jesus worked several years, and had 'omnes ætates humanas' ('all human ages'), in opposition to the Ptolemaists and their assertion of a single year of active work for Jesus.

⁹² Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, II. xxii. 5; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 148 b: Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxiii. 3; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871), p. 108.

⁹³ Irenæus, *ut supra*, III. i. 1, p. 174; Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. viii. 4, p. 206.

⁹⁴ Irenæus, *ut supra*, III. iii. 4, pp. 176-178; Eusebius, *ut supra*, IV. xiv. 3-6, p. 152. The last sentence is given by Eusebius in III. xxiii. 4, p. 109.

⁹⁵ Irenæus, *ut supra*, V. xxx. 1, p. 328; Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. viii. 5, p. 207.

⁹⁶ Irenæus, *ut supra*, V. xxxiii. 3, p. 333.

⁹⁷ Irenæus, *ut supra*, V. xxxiii. 4, p. 333.

⁹⁸ Irenæus, *ut supra*, pp. 340, 341; Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. xxiv. 14-17, p. 233.

⁹⁹ Irenæus, *ut supra*, pp. 339, 340; Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. xx. 4-7, pp. 226, 227.

¹⁰⁰ Steitz, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, p. 505.

¹⁰¹ Steitz, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, p. 519 f.; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1872, p. 376 ff.

¹⁰² Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1872, p. 378.

¹⁰³ Clement, *Stromata*, i. 1; *Opera*, edit. Sylburg, Cologne, 1688, p. 274 c, d, 275 a: Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xi. 3-5; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 211.

¹⁰⁴ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 165.

¹⁰⁵ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, vol. iii. (1872) p. 477, where he appeals to Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xxiii.-xxv.; *ut supra*, pp. 229-234.

¹⁰⁶ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxi. 5; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 123.

¹⁰⁷ Clement, *Stromata*, iii.; *Opera*, edit. Sylburg, Cologne, 1688, p. 448 b.

¹⁰⁸ Polycrates, in Eusebius, *ut supra*, III. xxxi. 2 (3?), p. 123.

¹⁰⁹ Steitz, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, p. 509 ff.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PASSOVER CONTROVERSY.

THE church in Asia Minor in the second century celebrated the passover on the fourteenth day of Nisan, appealing to the apostolic custom, and especially to John's. But John's gospel, at least as it is commonly understood, puts the last supper of Jesus on the thirteenth and his death on the fourteenth of Nisan, differing from the synoptists, who put both facts a day later. Therefore the gospel contradicts the Johannean custom as to the feast, and therefore the gospel cannot be from John. Since Bretschneider brought this argument to bear, the question has been the object of many discussions, and has become more and more involved. The literature of this question is extended, and the views of it are exceedingly various; but after the comprehensive and in many respects conclusive treatise by Schürer,¹ we can be short about it. Besides, the literature is given so fully in that treatise that we need simply refer to it.

Following Schürer, we may distinguish essentially four groups of views:

1. The church of Asia Minor celebrated the Jewish passover on the fourteenth Nisan, and in union with it the remembrance of the last supper of Jesus and the institution of the Lord's Supper. Mosheim took it thus, and so did Neander at first. Hence Bretschneider concluded that the fourth gospel cannot be from the apostle, to whom the church of Asia Minor

appeals, because the gospel has a different chronology. The Tübingen critics, Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, Hilgenfeld,² and so on, followed Bretschneider in this.

2. This contradiction is solved if John's report is to be understood as agreeing with that of the synoptists. Hengstenberg, Wieseler, von Hofmann, Tholuck, and Ebrard understand it thus.

3. The church of Asia Minor celebrated the fourteenth Nisan not in memory of the last supper of Jesus, but as the legal passover-day. Hence John's account is not touched by it. Lücke, Gieseler, Bleek,³ De Wette, and Hase⁴ take it in this way.

4. The celebration of the fourteenth Nisan was for the death of Jesus, and so agrees with the chronology of the fourth gospel. This view has of late found the most favour. Besides Neander, it is represented by Weitzel,⁵ Steitz,⁶ Ewald,⁷ Schneider,⁸ G. K. Mayer,⁹ Lechler, Ritschl, Kurtz, Thiersch, Kahnis,¹⁰ Weizsäcker,¹¹ Brückner, Meyer, and Godet.

The case stands as follows :—

The churches of Asia Minor, whose custom Polycrates of Ephesus represented, about 190, against Victor of Rome, celebrated the fourteenth Nisan. *Τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην φόντο δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα σωτηρίου¹² ἑορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ᾗ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίους προηγόρευτο, ὡς δέον ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ ταύτην, ὅποια δ' ἂν ἡμέρα τῆς ἐβδομάδος περιτυγχάνοι, τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις ποιῆσθαι, οὐκ ἔθουσ ὄντος τοῦτον ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως τὸ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσαν ἔθος φυλαττούσας, ὡς μηδ' ἑτέρα προσήκειν παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμέραν τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύεσθαι.¹³*

'The churches of all Asia thought, as it were on the ground of an ancient tradition, that they ought to celebrate the passover of salvation on the fourteenth

day of the month, on which the Jews were commanded to slay the lamb; because it was in every way necessary to close the fast on this day, no matter on what day of the week it fell. But it was not the custom in any other church in the world to celebrate in this way, all keeping the custom which has prevailed from apostolic tradition till now, that it is not meet to close the fast on any other than our Saviour's resurrection day.'

That is the way Eusebius describes the difference. He contrasts the churches of Asia with all others. By Asia we are probably to understand, according to the ruling later and New Testament use of terms, the Roman province, although the custom spoken of was not limited to this province. Those of Asia Minor, therefore, following the chronology of the Jewish feast, held the celebration of the passover of salvation always on the fourteenth Nisan, without regard to what day of the week it fell on. And they closed the fast on this day, while the other churches closed the fast with the resurrection day. It is not told in what the celebration consisted. Eusebius then relates,¹⁴ as the unanimous decision of all the rest of the bishops, standing in opposition to the custom of Asia Minor, that the 'mystery' of the resurrection of the Lord should be held on no other than on the Lord's day, that is, Sunday. Therefore the celebration seems to have consisted chiefly in the Lord's supper. But from the very fact that nothing further is told about the object of the celebration, it clearly appears that the strife was not about this, but only about the day. All passages speak only of the latter, not of the former. Hence it was essentially 'one and the same Christian passover which the West always celebrated on a Sunday, and Asia Minor on the contrary on the fourteenth day of the month.'¹⁵ They limited it to

this day, fasting through the day, and closing the fast at evening with their celebration.

This celebration of the passover in Asia Minor is identical with the celebration of the Quartodecimani (Fourteeners), whom Hippolytus, Apolinarius, and Clement of Alexandria fought against. Until a later date it was quite common to think that these Quartodecimani ought to be distinguished from the Catholics of Asia Minor, and that their custom as to the feast ought to be considered a particularly heretical one. Schürer has proved the groundlessness of this opinion, and the agreement of the alleged separate party with the custom of the church in Asia Minor as to the feast. The attack of Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis about 160-180, which certainly shows that that custom did not rule without exception and uncontested in Asia Minor, is of especial importance for them. He does not reproach his opponents with heresy, but with ignorance. They did not need to be denounced, but to be taught. *Λέγουσιν ὅτι τῇ ιδ' τὸ πρόβατον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν ὁ κύριος, τῇ δὲ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἄζύμων αὐτὸς ἔπαθεν, καὶ διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν ὡς νενοήκασιν ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνός τε νόμος ἢ νόμισις αὐτῶν καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια*¹⁶ ('they say that the Lord ate the lamb with the disciples on the fourteenth, and that He suffered on the great day of unleavened bread, and they relate that, as they understand him, Matthew said so; whence, their interpretation is both contrary to the law, and seems to oppose the gospels to each other'). Here, too, the question is not on the contents, but on the day of the celebration. Those in Asia Minor whom Apolinarius wars against appeal to the custom of the Lord, who held the passover on the fourteenth Nisan, and to the report of Matthew, who presents it thus.

Apolinarius urges two things against them. First, this view is in contradiction to the law. For, accord-

ing to that opinion, Christ would have died on the fifteenth Nisan. But if He were to be the New Testament passover lamb, He must have died, according to the law, on the fourteenth. Secondly, the gospels were thereby put in contradiction with each other. Ebrard¹⁷ has proved thoroughly that *στασιάζειν* is to be understood thus, in opposition to the faulty exegesis of Schweigler, Baur, and others. Therefore Apolinarius knew a gospel which, at least as he understood it, put the death of Jesus on the fourteenth of Nisan. That can clearly have been only the gospel of John. His opinion was, that Matthew's account must therefore be understood according to this, if they did not wish to bring the gospels into contradiction with each other. Consequently the celebration of the fourteenth on the part of the Quartodecimani lacked exegetical foundation. Thus, also, in the polemical writings of Clement, of Hippolytus, and of the *Philosophoumena*, the only thing discussed is the day, and not the essence of the celebration. As to the latter point, both parties were agreed. It is therefore arbitrary to charge the opponents of Apolinarius and the rest with celebrating a Jewish and not a Christian passover. They celebrated the Christian passover on the Jewish day, appealing to the Lord's passover. This is as true of Apolinarius' Quartodecimani as of Polycarp and Polycrates.

Finally, Schürer rightly takes his decisive proof for this from the book of Eusebius about the passover, which has thus far been too little regarded. Eusebius relates that, at the Council of Nicæa, those of Asia Minor who had till then still held fast to their celebration gave up to the majority of the other bishops in the choice of the day, 'and thus it became a feast of Christ;' 'for nature draws like to like.' The opponents of the prevailing custom had asserted that the Lord ate the passover on the fourteenth, appealing to the

synoptic account, especially to Matthew's,¹⁸ exactly like the so-called Quartodecimani. Hence Eusebius adds to his report above an exegetical proof, that the Lord ate the passover with his disciples not on the fourteenth but on the thirteenth Nisan; and that He did not eat the Jewish passover, but had instituted the mystery the Lord's supper; and that He died on the fourteenth. Thus we always find the same opponents, namely, those of Asia Minor, spoken of; the question is always the same, namely, only the question as to the day; and the proof urged against them is always the same.

We can now determine what thoughts lay at the basis of that celebration. As far as the time of the celebration was concerned, the church of Asia Minor followed the Jewish celebration. This is repeatedly and expressly declared, as by Polycrates:¹⁹ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγαγον οἱ συγγενεῖς μου . . . ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤρυνε τὴν ζύμην ('my relations always celebrated the day . . . on which the people [that is, Israel] put away the leaven'); or Eusebius:²⁰ they of Asia Minor had believed ἐπεσθαι δεῖν τῇ Ἰουδαίων συνθηκῇ ('that it was necessary to follow the custom of the Jews'). Their celebration was to them the counterpart of the Jewish. Naturally it is out of the question that either they or any part of them celebrated the Jewish passover itself. They celebrated a Christian passover, but on the day of the Jewish passover, because it was a fulfilment of that. Just as the Lord instituted His passover as a Christian passover in contrast to the Jewish, so had they understood and celebrated this Christian passover. But the Jewish passover is the celebration of the redemption of God's people; the feast and the supper stood for the memory and for the fact of the redemption of Israel. And in the Christian passover they solemnized and celebrated the New Testament redemption.²¹ Cer-

tainly this redemption was through Christ's death; and therefore they surely thought of Christ's death in it, as at 1 Cor. xi. 26. But it does not follow from that that they celebrated the fourteenth Nisan as the remembrance-day of Christ's death, so that we could draw therefrom a confirmation of John's alleged chronology, as Weitzel, Steitz, and others do. Besides, the redemption was not alone through Christ's death, but also through the resurrection, so that in the celebration they probably thought no less of the resurrection of Christ. Indeed, the West held its celebration only on resurrection-day. We have seen, however, that there was no strife between Asia Minor and the rest of the Church as to the contents and the thought of the celebration. Therefore they agreed on this. Hence the meaning of the celebration must have been such that it could be held on resurrection-day. The fact that those of Asia Minor fasted on the fourteenth Nisan does not argue for the celebration of the day of Christ's death. Fasting served to express not simply mourning, but religious preparation in general.

Epiphanius²² tells of a small party among the Quartodecimani, who, on the ground of the acts of Pilate, always kept the twenty-fifth of March with fasting and the Lord's supper in memory of the sufferings of Christ. But these were no Quartodecimani at all, inasmuch as the Quartodecimani were characterized by their keeping the day prescribed by the Old Testament law and observed by the Jews, while these ignored that day. Hence we cannot conclude from the celebration of that party to the celebration of the Quartodecimani, who, as we see from Eusebius, took the day of the passover supper, and therefore not the day of the death of Jesus. Theodoret²³ says of the Quartodecimani that they celebrated the memory of the sufferings of Jesus. But Eusebius' testimony goes for more than

that of a writer of the fifth century, at whose day the Quartodecimani had already nearly died out. And besides, he speaks not of the death, but only of the sufferings of Jesus. Therefore thus much is settled: the celebration of the fourteenth Nisan was not determined by the reckoning as to the day of the death of Jesus, since it did not stand exclusively in memory of that.

Just as little was it exclusively in memory of the institution of the Lord's supper. It certainly touched upon that; but not as a chronological memorial, so that we can draw conclusions as to the gospel chronology, either for the agreement or disagreement of the synoptic and Johannean accounts. But this is what the representatives of the first and second categories, in the views recounted at the beginning, do in various ways. The point is, not the fact of the institution of the Lord's supper, but the meaning of this supper. Christ instituted the Lord's supper, in a contrasted connection with the Jewish passover, as the supper of redemption, and to celebrate the redemption made by Him. And in this sense, too, they celebrated it in the West as in Asia Minor, only with the difference, that in the latter they kept the historical connection of the Christian passover with the Jewish in the choice of the day, and in the former they determined it from a purely Christian standpoint. Because the Christian celebration there leaned on the Jewish, we do not need to infer that the church in Asia Minor possibly had a Judaizing character. It was natural that the Christian festal customs should form themselves on the Jewish, since, indeed, according to Paul's preaching, Christianity in general stood in the closest causal connection with the Old Testament economy. Tradition in Asia Minor reports that the apostle John celebrated the passover on the

fourteenth Nisan. We are not to think for a moment here of the Jewish passover, for after the destruction of Jerusalem that could certainly find no more room in the Christian Church. Nor are we warranted in concluding from this that the apostle John was of a Jewish way of thinking, since the day resulted from the very joining of the Christian celebration to the Jewish. Nor does this fact furnish arguments against John's authorship of the gospel, since the Jewish festal custom, and not the gospel chronology, was what decided the choice of the day. On what day John in his gospel puts the parting supper of Jesus, whether on the thirteenth or the fourteenth, is for this a matter of indifference. The question was not about the keeping of this date, but about the day of the Jewish passover, because they had to do with the celebration of the Christian passover, which was a copy of the Jewish. However the exegetical result relating to John's chronology may turn out, whether agreeing or not with the custom Asia Minor affirmed to be John's, this point is no part of the critical question as to the author of the fourth gospel.

But the passover controversy in Asia Minor certainly gave an argument for John's authorship. For while the representatives of tradition there appealed to the synoptists to prove that the Lord likewise had held the passover on the fourteenth Nisan, Apolinarius appeals to John's gospel to prove the contrary. Therefore as early as that, about 170, the exegesis of this gospel was drawn into the strife, and so this book passed then as an authentic monument of the Johannean tradition.

We can now sum up the results of our inquiries as to the external attestation of the fourth gospel. We see that as soon as traces of the gospel meet us, it is testified to, both inside and outside of the Church, as

a work of John's, and as a book of unquestionable apostolic authority. But these traces and this testimony go beyond the middle of the second century, and drive us back to the beginning of it. Now it is fixed that the apostle John lived at Ephesus, and that till late, to Trajan's time. And it is just there that we have to seek for the home of John's gospel. But the nearer to the time of John we are forced to go back with this book, the more impossible it is that the recollections of the apostle, which were still so fresh and general, would have so generally, and without opposition, let such a book as the gospel is be pressed on them if it had not been apostolic, and above all, if it had been so foreign to John's sphere of thought and to his leanings as men say it is.

Therefore the external testimony attests the Johannean composition. The character of the book itself must needs make this supposition impossible if we are not to believe this testimony. In that case there would be nothing left for us but to let this book stand as an insoluble problem. The question is, whether or not the character of the book itself forbids its composition by John.

¹ Schürer, *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1870, 2 Heft, pp. 182-284; the author, Lic. th., Dr. Emil Schürer, is now Extraordinary Professor of Theology at the University of Leipzig.

² Hilgenfeld, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1849, pp. 209-281; *Galaterbrief*, Leipzig, 1852, p. 78 ff. *et passim*: especially *Der Passahstreit der alten Kirche*, Halle, 1860; *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1861, pp. 106-110 and 285-318; *Kanon und Kritik d. N. T.*, Halle, 1863, p. 219 ff.; *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1867, pp. 187-197; 1870, pp. 171-180; and 1872, p. 372 ff.

³ Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*, Berlin, 1846, pp. 38 f., 156 ff.; *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2d edit. Berlin, 1866, p. 189 ff., especially p. 192.

⁴ Hase, *Die Tübinger Schule*, Leipzig, 1855, p. 43 ff.

⁵ Weitzel, *Die christliche Passahfeier der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Pforzheim, 1848.

⁶ Steitz, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1856, 1857, 1859; in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. xi. p. 149 ff.; *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1861, pp. 102-141.

⁷ Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, vol. v. 1853, p. 205.

⁸ Schneider, *Die Echtheit des johanneischen Evangeliums nach den äusseren Zeugnissen*, Berlin, 1854, p. 42 ff.

⁹ G. K. Mayer, *Die Echtheit des Evangeliums nach Johannes*, Schaffhausen, 1854, p. 384 ff.

¹⁰ Kahnis, *Die lutherische Dogmatik historisch-genetisch dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1861, vol. i. p. 417 f.; 2d edit. Leipzig, 1874, vol. i. p. 166.

¹¹ Weizsäcker, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1862, p. 583 f.; *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*, Gotha, 1854, p. 295.

¹² Læmmer reads *σωτηρίου πάσχα* (in his edition, V. xxvi. p. 402), but the common reading, *πάσχα σωτηρίου*, is probably better, so that *σωτηρίου* belongs to *ιορτήσ*. In this case Schürer's objection against Weitzel (see *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1870, 2 Heft, p. 239) falls away.

¹³ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xxiii. 1; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 229.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* V. xxiii. 2, p. 229: ὡς ἂν μὴδ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ποτὶ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῖτο τοῦ κυρίου μυστήριον.

¹⁵ Schürer, *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1870, 2 Heft, p. 199.

¹⁶ Apolinarius, in *Chronicon Paschale*, edit. Dindorf (*Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*), Bonn, 1832, vol. i. p. 14.

¹⁷ Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 2d edit. Erlangen, 1850, pp. 941-943; 3d edit. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1868, p. 1211 f.

¹⁸ Eusebius, *De Paschate*, viii. (Mai), *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, Rome, vol. iv. 1847, p. 214: ὡς ἄρα γέγραπται, τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εἶπον τῷ σωτῆρι, ποῦ θέλεις ἱτοιμάσασθαι, κτλ. ('as then it is written, on the first day of unleavened bread the disciples came and said to the Saviour, "Where wilt thou that we prepare?"' etc.)—see Matt. xxvi. 17 f.

¹⁹ Polycrates, in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xxiv. 6; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 231.

²⁰ Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, lib. III. cap. v. (1); *Corpus Patrum Græcorum*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, vol. i. (1822) p. 912.

²¹ See Schürer, *ut supra*, p. 254.

²² Epiphanius, *Panaria*, haer. l. 1, vol. i. pp. 42, 44; *Corpus Hæreseologicum*, Berlin, 1860, vol. ii. A small party, ἱεριοί, 'nonnulli;' with fasting and the Lord's Supper, αὐτὴν μίαν ἡμέραν νηστεύοντες καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελοῦντες; sufferings of Christ, τὸν Σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι.

²³ Theodoret, *Hæreticarum Fabularum Compendium*, lib. iii. cap. 4; edit. Schulze, Halle, vol. iv. (1772) p. 343: πανηγυρίζουσι τοῦ πάθους τὴν μνήμην.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL ITSELF.

SUPPOSE we had no tradition about the author of the fourth gospel, but were left to the book itself for this point, we should then, on the ground of the impression it makes, be forced to assume, first of all, that the author was a Jew by birth, and that of Palestine, not a Hellenist of the Diaspora.

1. *Language.*

The very language goes to show that he was such a person. This is pretty fairly acknowledged by all. Keim¹ calls the language 'a remarkable tissue of genuine Greek lightness and skill, and of Hebrew forms of expression, in all their directness, childishness, figurativeness, and, as well, awkwardness.' He quotes Godet's words, that the dress of the language is Greek, but its body Hebrew. In my work on the gospel of John I have treated thoroughly of the Hebrew character of the language of this gospel, and here simply refer to that place. This character does not lie in the single Hebraisms; these we can, for the most part, trace back to Greek grammar. It is the 'Hebrew soul' which 'lives in the evangelist's language.' The material of the language shows this: the limited supply of words and ideas, which, as even Weiss and Hengstenberg have proved, go back for the

most part to the Old Testament; and the sensuality and the figurativeness of the discourses, which are rooted in the Old Testament Scriptures and in the Old Testament history. We see clearly that the author's spirit has been fed upon these scriptures and this history. It appears also in the circumstantial way of relation; in the want of such periods as are peculiar to Greek; in the want of Greek particles, which are supplied by *καί* ('and') and *οὖν* ('then'); in the paratactical formation of sentences; and in the parallelism and rhythm of clauses, after the manner of the Old Testament. All this shows the soul of the language to be not Greek, but Hebrew. This, too, is the conclusion reached by Credner:² 'The language in which our gospel is written characterizes the author as a man whom the Greek language, after long familiarity with it, served as a means of presenting what he had originally thought in an Eastern language, and particularly in the language of Palestine.' And Ewald³ decides in the same way: 'That the Greek language of the author bears in itself still the clearest and strongest marks of a genuine Hebrew, who, born among Jews in the Holy Land, and grown up in their society without speaking Greek, carries in himself the whole spirit and breath of his mother-tongue, even in the midst of the Greek raiment that he afterwards learned to cast about him, and has no hesitation to let himself be led by that spirit.'⁴

2. *The Old Testament in this Gospel.*

As the language, so, too, the holy book of Israel was the home of his spirit. The whole circle of his thoughts rose from the Old Testament. We can but agree with Wittichen,⁵ that the 'Hebrew manner of conception'

peculiar to the evangelist gives rise to a series of pictures, which have no analogy, or but a distant analogy, in the native Greek authors. See, for example, the image of the bearing woman, xvi. 21, and compare Isa. xxi. 3, Hos. xiii. 13; of the good and bad shepherd, x. 1 ff., and compare Ezek. xxxiv. 7, Jer. ii. 8, Zech. xi. 5; of the living water, iv. 10, and compare Isa. xli. 18, and elsewhere. I have shown in my commentary referred to above, that the circle of the evangelist's images and thoughts goes back especially to the second part of Isaiah. Moreover, the exposition will show that Weiss⁶ is right in tracing back the idea of the Logos to the Old Testament. Keim's⁷ notion, if true, would not fit this. He thinks that the 'deepest sympathy' of the evangelist 'lies in philosophical studies,' and that he wished to store away in his book 'his philosophical theory of life.' And the Old Testament Scriptures do not deal in philosophical speculation. But the more exact the exposition of the gospel is, the more it shows that the gospel throughout is rooted in the Old Testament Scriptures, and in their world of history and thought. It grew on this soil, and not on Hellenic or even on Hellenistic.

The author was not limited merely to the Greek translation of the Old Testament for his knowledge of the holy book of Israel. He understood Hebrew, and knew the Old Testament in the original text. Even Keim⁸ acknowledges not only the 'Hebrew colouring of the language, that truly does not betray a Gentile Christian in the sense of Baur and his followers,' but also 'the understanding of the Old Testament in the original language.' This is clear from certain Old Testament quotations, in which the evangelist, leaving the Greek translation, goes back to the original text. It is true that xii. 40, compared with Isa. vi. 10, is

not a strict proof of this. The evangelist's quotation stands as freely towards the original as towards the translation. It agrees with the former, however, in changing the passive of the translation, *ἐπαχύνθη ἡ καρδία, κτλ.* ('their heart waxed fat'), into the active *ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν καρδίαν* ('he hardened their heart'). Here God is to be thought of as subject,⁹ while in the original text the prophet appears as acting; but the prophet acts as the organ of God. The reference to the foundation-text is more unquestionable at xiii. 18, compared with Ps. xli. 10 (English version, 9); and it is altogether beyond doubt in xix. 37, in the citation from Zech. xii. 10. The interpretation of Siloam, too, by *ἀπεσταλμένος* ('sent'), shows one acquainted with Hebrew, מֵשֶׁל being taken as equivalent to מֵשֶׁל. It may be regarded as pretty certain that the Jews in the Diaspora knew nothing of Hebrew, or only a little.¹⁰ Hence we may consider the knowledge of Hebrew to be a sign of Palestinian origin.

3. *The Writer's Consciousness.*

Moreover, the evangelist's consciousness is Jewish. The 'we know,' in iv. 22, by which the speaker identifies himself with the Jews in contrast with the Samaritans, holds as good for the evangelist as for the speaker. I believe I have elsewhere¹¹ shown sufficiently that the way in which he speaks of 'the Jews,' or in which Christ speaks of their law, is no argument against this. Even Keim, though he brings this use of language by the evangelist forward with a certain emphasis,¹² no longer turns it to account after the manner of Baur's school. It certainly is not national or local distance that expresses itself thus. It is merely the contrast, as it has developed itself

between Jesus and His Church on the one side, and Israel as a nation on the other. It is the purest arbitrariness when Hilgenfeld¹³ makes the words of Jesus, in iv. 22, *ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε* ('ye worship'), to be directed not only against the Samaritans, but also against the Jews, and, on the other hand, makes Him speak in *ἡμεῖς προσκυνούμεν* ('we worship') as a representative of Christianity. As early as 1854 he explains¹⁴ John iv. 21-23 so that it would read thus: 'Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye (that is, Israelites in general of both religions) shall neither in this mountain (as the Samaritans) nor yet at Jerusalem (as the Jews) worship the Father. Ye (Israelites in general) worship ye know not what: we (Christians) know what we worship. For salvation is of the Jews; but the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.' In this case the evangelist's consciousness was certainly not Jewish, if it was not even anti-Jewish. But at the cost of what an exegesis! You can prove anything with such an exegesis. The evangelist would make Jesus speak in direct address to people who are not there, namely, to the Jews, while, nevertheless, He as a Jew, iv. 9, is addressing a Samaritan woman. And what logic would come to light in this way! For the fact that Christians and not Jews are right would be confirmed by the declaration that salvation comes from the Jews! Hilgenfeld tries to reduce this to mean 'the mere external descent of salvation;' but salvation must still first be included in Israel before it can go out of Israel. Indeed, it reads *ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* ('out of the Jews'), and not *ἀπό* ('from'). At the end of the conversation Jesus avows Himself to the woman as the Messiah, and thus as the fulfilling of Israel's hope in the Israelite form, and in harmony with the Old Testament Scriptures.

The Jewish consciousness expresses itself in the whole attitude which the evangelist, or Jesus in his gospel, assumes towards the Old Testament Scriptures and towards Old Testament history. It is the same as in Matthew's gospel. Here, as there, Jesus is the fulfilment of the Old Testament Scriptures, from the Baptist's appearance and his testimony to the 'Lamb of God,' to the Paschal Lamb on the cross and the spear-thrust of the Crucified. And in the middle stands that witness to the Scriptures, x. 35, *οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή* ('the Scripture cannot be broken'), which declares their canonical authority and their unity. It is true, Christ here calls the Scriptures the law of the Jews, x. 34, *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν* ('in your law'), but that is only because His opponents appeal to the law against Him. Besides, this shows the Jew in Him, that He called the Old Testament Scriptures in general *ὁ νόμος* ('the law'). For this use of the term was only familiar to a Jew. It is not the Jews in general, as Hilgenfeld thinks,¹⁵ to whom John's Christ repeatedly denies the knowledge of His Father, but it is His opponents who will not come to Him. The Jews 'without guile,' like Nathanael, come to Him. But whoever comes to Him, him the Father draws to the Son, vi. 37, 44.

Besides, the whole style of the evangelist's mind wears a Jewish cast. No gospel has a more symbolical character than this. All its speech is figurative. Everything becomes a *σημεῖον* ('sign') for him, a picture and likeness of intangible thoughts and facts. To him, that which is not sensual is the *ἀληθινόν* ('true'), the properly real; that which is sensual, the improperly real. All finds its higher truth in Jesus. The whole history and all the occurrences of Jesus' life have a symbolical meaning for him. This even descends to apparent trifling, as when, for example, he translates and inter-

prets Siloam, ix. 7. He puts in this symbolical light not merely what Jesus does, but also what happens to Him. The blood and water that flow from the corpse of the Crucified are to him a symbol of something higher. These are all marks of a Jewish cast of mind.

So, too, is the symbolism of numbers. Bengel called attention to the importance of the number 'three' in John's gospel. I tried to prove that this number lay at the base of the whole plan of the book. Then they carried this observation too far. Keim¹⁶ runs a good thing into the ground here, and Leuschner¹⁷ was right in correcting him. However, even if we lay aside the silly exaggeration, the fact itself is left behind. As Matthew's gospel is ruled by the number seven, John's is ruled by the number three. Whether this is due, as Keim thinks,¹⁸ to a speculative motive, which I deny, or to a psychological, which I believe, has nothing to do with the matter in hand. The ruling power and the importance of the number is a Jewish way of writing a book.

4. *Jewish Knowledge.*

As the author has a Jewish cast of mind, so, too, he shows that he is at home in Jewish customs, ideas, and circumstances. He knows not merely that, by the strict Jewish observance of the law then, healing was forbidden on the Sabbath, v. 1 ff., ix. 14 ff.,¹⁹ but also that circumcision is allowed on the Sabbath, vii. 22 f.²⁰ He knows about the Jewish expectation of Elias, and of a prophet like Moses, i. 21.²¹ He is acquainted with the Jewish view that the Messiah will come forth from obscurity, vii. 27,²² in spite of the expectation of His birth at Bethlehem, in contrast to Nazareth, i. 47. He knows that they ascribed an

eternal continuance to the Messianic kingdom, and assumed an eternal stay of the Messiah, xii. 34,²³ with which the thought of an atoning suffering did not seem to consist, xii. 34.²⁴ He likewise is acquainted with the casuistical questions which attached themselves to the proposition that misfortune is the consequence of sin, ix. 2. Further, he knows that it was thought out of place for a rabbi to speak with a woman in public, iv. 27; and that entering a Gentile house made one unclean, xviii. 28.²⁵ He knows the ill-feeling between the Jews and Samaritans, iv. 9; and he is acquainted with the pride of learning and the contempt for the unlearned in Israel, vii. 49. He knows that they added an eighth day to seven-day feasts, vii. 37; and he knows perfectly about the Jewish burial customs, in distinction, say, from the Egyptian, xi. 44, xix. 40.

The same thing is true of external circumstances. The pieces of ignorance and incorrectness that criticism used to find in the gospel have, for the most part, been given up of late. Baur²⁶ thought, at ἀρχιερεὺς ὡν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ('being the high priest that same year'), that the evangelist betrayed the opinion that the Jewish high priest changed every year, perhaps like the Roman consul. But Keim owns²⁷ that he does not betray this opinion at all. It is true that he attaches Caiaphas' high-priesthood in a particular way with that year. But it is only in the sense that the great atoning sacrifice was in question, the fulfilling of which in Jesus' death the high priest himself should serve to bring about. The evangelist, therefore, shows himself to be not ignorant of, but acquainted with, Jewish circumstances.

The number of years which the Jews give for the building of the temple by Herod, ii. 20, both justifies itself historically and is a sure hold for reckoning the

gospel history.²⁸ The fact that the Jewish authorities no longer had the right of carrying out death-sentences, xviii. 31, is as weighty for the evangelist as it is agreeable to the historical reality.²⁹

5. *Local Knowledge.*

The evangelist's knowledge of places is now better recognised than it used to be. The 'alleged errors about Bethany and Bethesda, Cana and Kedron, Salem and Sychar, about the high priest of the year, and about the distances of Cana and Capernaum, Bethany and Peræa, we need believe in the less, because the author shows elsewhere a fair acquaintance with the land, and because even the hardest explains itself from a particular design.'³⁰ This acknowledgment of Keim's will dispense us from going into details. On the one hand, these alleged errors have solved themselves on more exact observation or more just judgment; and on the other hand, we gain the impression that the localities stood clearly before the eyes of the author.

In Galilee he carries us back and forth over the sea, vi. 1, 22 ff.; from the shore to the height, vi. 3; and then back to the synagogue at Capernaum, vi. 17. He knows that one could get to that place by boat or by land, vi. 22 f. He knows how far off the shores are, vi. 19. In short, he shows that he is intimate with the locality. He sketches for us in a few words the valley of Sichem, between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, with Jacob's well and the memory of the days of the patriarchs, iv. 5 ff. As to the localities in Jerusalem,—the Sheep Gate, v. 2 ff.; the temple, with the treasury in the court of the women, viii. 20; Solomon's porch, x. 23; the valley of the Kedron and the

Mount of Olives, xviii. 1; the rooms in the high priest's palace, xviii. 15 ff., and the like,—his familiarity with them is that of a man who has seen them all with his own eyes.³¹ It cannot be retorted that the author might have studied the geography of Palestine, for the items do not in the least bear the character of study, but of full simplicity and of mere chance use. Nor have they the slightest tendency to adorn the writer with the appearance of knowing the country. They are far too insignificant and too undesigned for that. They come up of themselves to the relator, as they everywhere, in like cases, interweave themselves in a story which is based on the memory of one's own experience.

6. *An Eye-Witness.*

It is not simply a man of Palestine that speaks in this book; it is an eye-witness. The recital throughout betrays the eye-witness at once by the chronological clearness with which the whole life of Jesus stands before the soul of the writer, and with which all single occurrences are taken up into the general frame. No gospel is so chronologically arranged as this. In none is the chronological relation of every part to the whole so clear and distinct as here. There is no artistic chronological scheme laid at its foundation. There is no purposed emphasis of the order of time, but this comes out of itself, without the use of particular means. The evangelist wishes to lead before us the drama of the life of Jesus. Of course, then, the incidents arrange themselves chronologically for him, since the order of time is likewise the history of the growing conflict. No other gospel gives us so clear a picture of the development of this conflict. The importance of Jesus' festal visits to Jerusalem for

this development, and the crisis that was consummated at the time of the passover, a year before the death of Jesus, vi. 66, first become known or clear to us in this gospel.

But just as the chronology of the whole stands before the soul of the relator, so he offers besides a host of particular chronological statements, such as no other evangelist gives. These name even the day, the part of the day, and the hour. He begins with the mention of the day in i. 29, 35, 44 (English version, 43). He closes with it in xii. 1, 12, xiii. 1, and xx. 1, 26. They run between the beginning and the end in ii. 1, iv. 43, 52, vi. 22, vii. 14, 37, and xi. 6, 17. He names the hours of the day in i. 40 (Eng. vers. 39), iv. 6, 52, and xix. 14; and the part of the day in iii. 2, vi. 16, xiii. 30, and xviii. 28. There is nothing sought in these statements. They stand at his commands where he needs them. We see the personal recollection.

It shows itself, besides, in a series of separate touches. Such a touch as is found in the words *ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν* ('arise, let us go hence') explains itself only in this way. For the discourse of Jesus keeps straight on. Therefore, if memory had not dictated these words to his pen, he would have had no occasion to bring them in here. When he states exactly the place, time, and circumstances of the condemnation of Jesus, even to mentioning the mosaic pavement on which the judicial seat of the Roman officer stood, xix. 13 f., we recognise in him one who had lived through this decisive transaction. And in the remark, *ἦν δὲ νύξ* ('and it was night'), xiii. 30, we feel the soul of the disciple still trembling at the memory of this step towards the deed of the night. It is true that the whole bearing of the gospel is general, that its foundation-thought is comprehensive, and that its

sphere of thought seems to move largely at a certain abstract height. But in spite of all this, there is nothing general or indefinite about the account. We find everywhere perfectly defined lines and clear, bright colours. The memory involuntarily throws into the picture certain concrete features. Mark, for example, the names given that do not occur in the other gospels, as that of Malchus, xviii. 10, and Nathanael, and Nicodemus; and again, the mention of the value of the ointment of spikenard that Mary of Bethany poured over Him, xii. 3, 5. Such little traits best betray the eye-witness.

Then, too, the vividness with which he depicts certain events and scenes proves this. We need but to recall the scenes of the ninth chapter, and the unsurpassable clearness and life with which he sketches the embarrassment of the Jewish authorities, or the story of the eleventh chapter, which makes us live through those thrilling moments with him. Of course, the art of representation also can devise fictitious scenes, and paint them with living colours; but we have here no poetical romance, in which fiction lends the charm of actuality to what never happened. All is unadorned and simple. It is not a poet who lets his fancy work, or an artist who designs pictures, but a copyist who puts on paper the reality.

We see this again in the personalities contained in the gospel. It mentions a whole list of names, never giving a portrait, but always only a single touch or a single word, just as the situation called for it. And nevertheless these separate features, which are interwoven in the story without a thought of a complete picture of the respective personalities, agree so well together, that it is not hard to gain from them a view of the various personalities. Perhaps I may refer to the characteristics which I have given in my work on

John's gospel.³² They show that the author had the real men before his eyes, as he now and then copied off a single trait, and put it in his account.

He has also quite a clear view of the difference of the attitudes towards Jesus assumed by the various circles in Israel. It is true that the nation as a whole is hostile to Jesus. This is the sense of the expression *Ἰουδαῖοι* ('Jews'). It betokens Israel in its hostile relation to Jesus. But the Pharisees, i. 24, iv. 1, viii. 13, xii. 42, and xviii. 3; and the chief priest's party, vii. 26, 48, xii. 42, and xviii. 3, rise above the mass as the real bearers of this hostility. In distinction from them, the *ὄχλος* ('multitude') appears as wavering in its decision about Jesus, vii. 12; as ignorant of the plans of those rulers, vii. 20; and as more or less inclined to believe, vii. 31 f., 40, 41, etc. It is chiefly made up of Galileans come to the feast (compare iv. 45), for we only read of it at the feasts—see xii. 12, *ὄχλος πολὺς ὃ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν* ('much people that were come to the feast'). In the middle between these two are the people of Jerusalem. These stand in hostility or at least in unbelief towards Jesus, and know the plans of their rulers, vii. 25 ff. We see that these are no general categories, which the evangelist might have made for himself, but that they are the entire concrete circumstances, which are vividly present to him.

And perhaps we may venture to find the eye-witness in the use of *ἀμήν ἀμήν λέγω ὑμῖν* ('verily, verily, I say unto you'), which is peculiar to him. At least Delitzsch's explanation of the repeated *ἀμήν* ('verily') in John is as keen as it is simple. He sees in this the echo of Jesus' own words.³³ For when the discourse of Jesus, with the opening *ἀμήν* which was characteristic of Him, the 'Amen,' read in the speech of the country (*אָמֵן אָמֵן* =) *אָמֵן אָמֵן*, the evangelist, remem-

bering these oft-heard words, imitated their sound in the double ἀμὴν ἀμήν.

7. *The Way the Evangelist Names Himself.*

All these observations, which lead us to recognise not merely the born Jew and the man of Palestine, but also the witness of the events he relates to us, are confirmed by the express direct and indirect way in which the evangelist names himself. The 'I' of the evangelist has always been found in the ἡμεῖς ἐθεασάμεθα ('we beheld') of the opening, i. 14. Keim, indeed, following Baur, thinks that the 'eye-witness' here, 'as in the epistle,' is 'such as every Christian can claim.'³⁴ But if the opening words of the epistle do not betoken the most personal and direct witness, human speech has no words for it. 'Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled:' can one speak more strongly of sensible presence? It is not a beholding with the νοῦς ('soul'), but with the eyes; not a touching by inward feeling, but with the hands. No right-minded man ever used such terms in direct speech to express purely mental occurrences. They have brought in no analogous example because there is none. 'Every Christian can claim such "eye-witness"?' No one has ever heard a Christian of later days say so; and no one can find a single voucher for that statement in all Christian literature. What these words say is unquestionable. It could only be doubtful whether they stand as true or not. In any case, the writer of the epistle wishes to pass as a direct eye-witness. And the evangelist likewise wishes to be regarded as such. It does not merely seem so, as Hilgenfeld supposes,³⁵ but it is so. 'Εν ἡμῶν ('among us')

no more refers 'to the whole of Christendom' here than it does in Luke i. 1, since the 'we' of the first witnesses is meant to stand over against the 'you' of other Christians; see xx. 31, and 1 John i. 2, 3. Hilgenfeld thinks³⁸ that *ἐθεασάμεθα* ("we beheld") designates the vision of the glory of Jesus, which . . . in its essence is internal, and coincides with that *θεωρεῖν* ("to see") which is named by the side of Christian belief in vi. 40, xii. 44 f., xiv. 17, 19.' But, to pass by other things, he fails to remark that the evangelist is not speaking in the present, of the constant present view of belief, but in the past, and therefore speaks of an experience he had had with his companions, and upon the ground of which he now preaches Jesus as the Son of God. They could only say that in this he made a pretence, which did not correspond to the reality. Yet if everything else points us to an eye-witness, why shall not the express confirmation pass for such? The words in the gospel are not so heaped up and so strong as in the epistle, because he wishes to lay stress on the blessedness of his experience rather than on the trustworthiness of his witness. And besides, why should he emphasize the latter at the beginning? He shows himself as an eye-witness through the whole book, and the readers of his book know from whom they received it.

Baur³⁷ understood the words in xix. 35 only of spiritual view. But now they have found in these words the express distinction of the evangelist from the eye-witness (John), whom he names, or wishes to have considered as his voucher.³⁸ Hilgenfeld and Buttman on the one side, and Steitz on the other, had a lively debate over the *ἐκεῖνος* ('he') in this passage.³⁹ Even Keim,⁴⁰ however, gives up the linguistic arguments which they brought to bear against the referring *ἐκεῖνος* ('he') to the evangelist himself. They were

weak. Not only does John use *ἐκεῖνος* with a frequency (seventy-two times) that occurs in no other author, but, moreover, his use of it cannot be limited by the common formula, namely, that it betokens the more distant subject. On the contrary, it serves with him to lay particular stress on the person or thing in hand, 'even he.' Look at v. 39, *καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ* ('and they are they which testify of me'). Besides, we have a passage quite analogous to the one in question. It is Christ's self-witness to the healed man who had been blind from birth: ix. 37, *καὶ ἑώρακας αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ λαλῶν μετὰ σοῦ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν* ('thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee'). That decides the linguistic side of the question. But Keim⁴¹ thinks that 'rational logic forbids the identity of the subjects, this extreme objectizing of the subject who is writing.' Yet it is utterly impossible to see why 'rational logic' should make any difficulty here. If a sure ground is to be given for belief, the authority of a third person is much less in place than one's own eye-witness. And, again, the fact that the evangelist, in putting his own character as an eye-witness here for a guaranty, speaks of himself in lofty words in the third person, finds an analogy in all 'rational' speech, and most of all in the fourth gospel. It is enough to point not only to ix. 37, but also to xvii. 3. Hence xix. 35 is not a testimony against, but for, the character of the evangelist as an eye-witness, or at least for his design to pass as such.

But they say that this eye-witness shows itself to be only a pretence, and not a reality, in the 'shyness' with which the evangelist half-cloaks himself, not daring to come out openly.⁴² Hitherto that very drawing back of his own person has been taken as a sign of genuineness, by which the writer betrayed himself. And certainly there is not much 'logic' to be found in

this reasoning of Keim's. When he puts the argument in union with xix. 35, the case stands thus:—Either (a) the writer distinguishes himself from the eye-witness. In this case he does it openly and clearly by the choice of *ἐκεῖνος* and by the discourse in the third person; and such things as shyness, and half-cloaking, and the like cannot be mentioned. Or (b) he names himself in those words. In this case he does it with a decision and a stress that leaves nothing more to be wished for, and that betrays nothing of 'shyness.' He comes forward here thus strongly, just because he elsewhere keeps in the background. And his keeping himself in the background at other times has therefore another reason than the 'shyness' taught him by an ill conscience.

The matter, as is well known, stands thus: While the evangelist else always calls the disciples of Jesus by name, when he brings them in as speaking or acting, one occurs who is never called by name, but only hinted at as one of the disciples, xiii. 23; or as another or the other disciple, xviii. 15, xx. 2, 3, 4, 8; or as the disciple whom Jesus loved, xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2, xxi. 7, 20. It may be taken as agreed that he is identical with the one who, as one of the first, with Andrew, followed Jesus, i. 41 (English version, 40). The fourth gospel knows the twelve as well as the first three gospels do, vi. 13, 70, xx. 24. Of them it names: Andrew, four times; Simon Peter, thirty-three times; Philip, twice; Nathanael, five times; Thomas, five times; Judas Thaddæus, once; and Judas Iscariot, eight times. Of the five missing ones, two only, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, can come into consideration. They belong to the most intimate circle of the disciples, to the three who stood nearest to Jesus. And yet these very two are not named. But the nameless one of the gospel must have been one of the

nearest. His whole attitude toward Jesus, and his designation show this. Peter is named; and James died too early for him to be thought of. Only John is left. That just he should not be named must appear striking. The very absence of his name makes him remarkable. He steps forward with weight in the story at its most important points: at the beginning, at the last supper, at the hearing, at the cross, at the grave, and then at the Sea of Gennesaret. But he does not name himself, because he does not wish to name himself, seeing that he is the relator. And as he does not name himself, no more does he name James, because he is his brother; and no more does he name Salome, because she is his mother. After the Lord's supper, he always appears in company with Peter, just as Peter and John are joined in Acts. It can be no other than John. Lützelberger thought it was Andrew, and Späth it was Nathanael; but, in spite of Holtzmann,⁴³ these are unlucky conceits, that remain confined to their makers. Scholten⁴⁴ is no happier. He sees in the writer an opponent of John, who intends 'to destroy, root and branch, Jewish Christianity, which was preached as a continuation of the tradition from John.' Hence he makes out of this disciple whom Jesus loved an ideal figure, which is lifted far above the unintelligent apostles, 'the spiritual brother of Jesus,' and the like.⁴⁵ And yet we have to do with a historical person,—one as historical as Andrew at the beginning or Peter at the end; and with a disciple who is no better in understanding than the others, xx. 9, but has gradually to rise, by what he experiences, to the understanding demanded.

To what precedes another thing may now be added. The persons named in the gospel are, as a rule, exactly designated by additions. Andrew is more closely marked as the brother of Simon Peter, Simon by the

addition Peter, Thomas by Didymus, one Judas by Thaddæus, and the other by Iscariot and by the words 'who betrayed him.' On the contrary, the Baptist John is as a rule called only John. It does not seem necessary to the evangelist to distinguish him from the apostle John, because he, the writer himself, is this apostle John. He does not name himself, but shows clearly enough who he is.

It is not hard to perceive from the character of his gospel why his authorship thereof kept him from naming himself. If his book had borne such an objective character as, for example, the first gospel bears, he could have spoken of himself in the third person, just as Matthew is spoken of in Matt. ix. 9. But his book is not so objective. It is most thoroughly his own production, and of a subjective character. He would have had to speak of himself in the first person. But it goes against him to let his 'I' come forward in this way. So he writes it in a roundabout manner.

Yet from this very circumlocution they draw an argument against John's authorship. 'Just let us for a moment seriously suppose that John, who is brought in quietly here and there in the gospel, is not brought in by a third person, but has himself, as author, put himself here. Then he has presented himself in a very striking way as the true beloved disciple of Jesus, as the privileged one even in comparison with Peter, indeed as the patron and mediator for Peter; and as a lonely hero at the court and on Golgotha. . . . Are both [John and the author] one person, we have, as Weisse also saw, a piece of the most offensive boasting, the moral condemnation of a vain apostle.'⁴⁶ We could well wish that Keim had not written these words; for they are not merely painful, but also unjust as unjust can be. Keim has let his rhetoric lead

him astray here to heap up words and sentences, which have no ground in the gospel itself. There is not a word about heroism in it. John disappears in the high priest's house, and under the cross he stands silent by the women. He is a patron and mediator for Peter only in so far that by his personal acquaintance he procures him entrance to the palace. What is there strange in that? At the grave he lacks the decision of Peter. And Peter is the mouth and head man of the apostles in this gospel as in only one other. Peter is made remarkable by the mere disproportionate frequency with which his name is mentioned. So there is but the one thing left, namely, that John is in three passages named as the disciple whom Jesus loved. But what if that were the case? We can see from the other gospels, too, that he stood very near to Jesus; and both Acts and Paul also lay special stress on his high place in the Church. Therefore there is no use of talking about 'offensive boasting' here, most of all at a designation which names no great deeds, but only recalls an unmerited favour which he experienced, and the recollection of which still makes him happy in his old age. This is a word of blessed memory, and not of vain boasting. It has always been so considered hitherto, and we are sure that it will in the future also make the same impression on every unprejudiced mind.

We may close this inquiry with the following result:—The author of the gospel shows himself to be a Jew by birth, who is familiar with Jewish circumstances and with the Old Testament Scriptures in the original, and who has so vivid a conception of the events which he relates that we must suppose him to be an eye-witness of them. He expressly names himself as such a witness. And from the way in which he speaks of himself in relation to the other disciples of Jesus,

whom he calls by their names, he forces us to think of the apostle John. After all this we have no reason to hold his claim for a fiction. The fiction would be carried out far too artistically, and far too cunningly, to fit either the simplicity or the moral character of this book.

¹ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 116.

² Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Halle, 1836, vol. i. p. 209.

³ Ewald, *Die johanneischen Schriften*, Göttingen, 1861, vol. i. p. 44 f.

⁴ See also Godet, *Commentar zu dem Evangelium Johannis*, Hanover, 1869, p. 638; Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld, 1868 (1869), p. 5 f.; and Grau, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des neutestamentlichen Schriftthums*, Gütersloh, vol. ii. (1871) p. 433.

⁵ Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 6.

⁶ Weiss, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1868, p. 687 ff.

⁷ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 124.

⁸ Keim, *Ibid.* p. 156.

⁹ Meyer, *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 5th edit. Göttingen, 1869, p. 472.

¹⁰ Schürer, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 640.

¹¹ Luthardt, *Das johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit geschildert und erklärt*, Nürnberg, part i. 1852, p. 140 ff.; new edition, just out, 1875, vol. i. p. 119 ff. The new edition will appear in English in *Clark's Foreign Theological Library*, Edinburgh, in 1876.

¹² Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. pp. 127, 129, 131.

¹³ Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1870, p. 265.

¹⁴ Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 261 f.

¹⁵ Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1870, p. 266, note.

¹⁶ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 115 f.

¹⁷ Leuschner, *Das Evangelium St. Johannis und seine neuesten Widersacher*, Halle, 1873, p. 9 f.

- ¹⁸ Keim, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 115.
- ¹⁹ See Schürer, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 490.
- ²⁰ Schürer, *Ibid.* p. 489: 'one of the many strokes which prove that the fourth evangelist knows the Jewish circumstances exactly.'
- ²¹ *Ibid.* p. 580 f. ²² *Ibid.* p. 585. ²³ *Ibid.* p. 592.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 599. ²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 387.
- ²⁶ Baur, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1844, p. 636; repeated by Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 78.
- ²⁷ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 113.
- ²⁸ Schürer, *ut supra*, p. 193.
- ²⁹ Schürer, *ut supra*, pp. 250, 415 f.
- ³⁰ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 133.
- ³¹ Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 8.
- ³² Luthardt, *Das johanneische Evangelium*, part i. edit. 1852, pp. 92-155; 2d edit. 1875, vol. i. pp. 78-131.
- ³³ Delitzsch, *Talmudische Studien*, ix.; *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1856 (Jahrg. xvii. Heft 3), pp. 422-424.
- ³⁴ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 157.
- ³⁵ Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 340.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 340 f.
- ³⁷ Baur, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1844, p. 166 ff.
- ³⁸ Hilgenfeld, *ut supra*, p. 341.
- ³⁹ See the literature in Appendix for 1859, 1860, 1861, and 1862.
- ⁴⁰ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 157, note. ⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 157. ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ Holtzmann in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, art. 'Johannes der Apostel,' Leipzig, vol. iii. (1871) p. 329.
- ⁴⁴ Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asien*, Berlin, 1872, p. 90 ff.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 95.
- ⁴⁶ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. pp. 157, 158.

CHAPTER VIII.

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL AND THE SECOND CENTURY.

THERE is still another objection to the result we have reached. The gospel stands in contradiction with itself. It shows itself evidently to be a book that belongs to the second century, and so undoes its own testimony to John's authorship. It is especially the philosophical character of this gospel on account of which they think, as Keim for example, that they must refer it to the second century.

The exposition must decide whether and how far the gospel is ruled by Alexandrian views. We deny that it is so ruled. But if it were, is that a proof against the authorship, or against its composition as early as the first century? Cannot that which they hold to have been possible for Apollos have been possible for some one else? Could not a disciple of Jesus in Ephesus have become at home in another way of thought? It is well known that the whole air was full of philosophical elements, not only going forth from Alexandria, but also holding in Asia Minor independent seats for nursing philosophical interest. We do not wish to prove here that this *was* the case, but only to refuse to let them declare it to be absolutely impossible. Certainly, if his interest in speculative questions had crowded out his interest in the historical person Jesus Christ, the foremost care for the salvation of the soul, we could then no longer have spoken of a disciple of Jesus. But, as can clearly

be seen, this is not the case. If there is speculation in the fourth gospel, it is only a means, not an end,—a means of proclaiming salvation in the person of Jesus Christ. ‘That ye might believe’ reads the statement of the final aim at the close of the book. The speculative elements stand only in the relation of servants to this religious aim; just like similar thoughts and words at the opening of the epistle to the Hebrews, and in the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. It is true, the historical representation in the fourth gospel is freed from limitation to the external historical sphere and interest, and raised to the height of more general contemplation. But that is a different thing from the design of bringing forward a certain philosophical theory of the universe, for displaying which the material of the gospel history should only be used as a means. The relation is just the other way. It is a gospel we have here, not a philosophical treatise. Besides, the alleged philosophy in this book by no means bears the character of the second century. It is rather of an altogether general character. It enters neither thetically nor antithetically into single speculations, as is the case in the writings of the second century that lie before us. What it brings forward that is alleged to be speculative rests fully in every point on the Old Testament Scriptures, and we find here nothing of the developments of the second century.

Moreover, Keim, at least in his larger work, puts the gospel at the beginning of the second century. Not merely the external testimony, but also the whole character of the book made him go back thus far. But it could have been written twenty or thirty years earlier just as well as at 110.

Of Gnostic dualism, as Hilgenfeld with unwearied constancy tries to prove it,¹ the gospel contains nothing. The dualism it contains is religious and

moral,—the real contrast of belief and unbelief, and the like, traced back to its inmost religious and moral roots in the disposition. But this is the contrast which runs through the whole of the Scriptures, from Cain and Abel, from the Cainites and the Sethites, on down through the history of Israel and its reflection in the prophetic testimony; which then steps forward so keenly, and fulfils itself so tragically in the history of Jesus; and which will come to its highest pitch in the issues of history as the Revelation depicts them. It is here throughout ethically established, in the disposition as turned towards or turned away from God; while the dualism of Gnosticism is physically established and is a thing of natural necessity. John's gospel speaks of that contrast just as the synoptists do, when they oppose the *υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας* ('children of the kingdom') to the *υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ* ('children of the wicked one'), Matt. xiii. 38, and when they, following Isa. vi., make Jesus speak of an impossibility of perceiving and believing, Matt. xiii. 13 ff. This representation is not to be traced back to Gnostic dualism, and no more is John's.

The references to Montanism and to the passover controversies of the second century, on the ground of which Baur thought he could assign the gospel to its place in the second century, have been given up on all sides.

So there is no historical ground left in the second century in which the roots of this book could lie, except the Gnosticism of that time. But the later Gnosticism is entirely different from what is presupposed in the fourth gospel, whether the gospel leans on it or wars against it. One principle was characteristic of and common to the later Gnosticism, and formed the centre of all the attacks of the anti-Gnostic fathers, like Tertullian and Irenæus. This principle

is, the distinction of the highest true God from the Creator of the visible world, be the distinction explained by dualism or by emanation. Thiersch² has well observed that this very principle, this very 'blasphemia creatoris' ('blasphemy of the creator'), as Tertullian calls it, is entirely foreign to the sphere of the fourth gospel. Hilgenfeld's discovery of the Demiurgus, in viii. 44, is too queer, and has, besides, found too little approval, for us to need to pay any regard to it. Whether that distinction, which the later Gnosticism made, existed or not at the time the fourth gospel was written, it had in any case not yet entered the range of vision of the author of our gospel. Otherwise, if his book was to contain an attack on Gnosticism, he could no more have passed by this characteristic and central principle, than the later anti-Gnostics could pass by it. This fact proves that the fourth gospel has a different historical base from the time of the Gnosticism of a Marcion and the like.

Besides, the method of refutation is quite different. It never enters the head of the author of the gospel and of the first epistle, which we may bring in in this connection, first to portray the opposing doctrine, and then to combat it in detail, like the later controversialists. He is satisfied with regarding the general and the essential, which lies at the base of all single parts. There is no more different way and manner than that of the refutations found in Tertullian and Irenæus contrasted with the apostle's. What is true of these writers is true of Justin, whose refutations, as we know, became the rule for those who followed. We must even go further back than Irenæus. For in the Ignatian letters the method of refutation is much more special than in the fourth gospel. We see also, in the gospel, that we are moving in a different

and, indeed, an earlier stage of that great struggle. There is a certain noble universality and elevation in the way the evangelist regards the anti-Christian opposition,—a way that is peculiar to great minds of standard authority, and to the security of the time of laying the first foundations.

As the refutations, so also the form of doctrine which meets us in the fourth gospel points us back to the first century. For just as the 'Paraclete' of this book is pre-Montanistic, so its 'Logos' is pre-Justinic. If one grants the former, he cannot deny the latter. Here the ground-lines are drawn, which a later time develops further and supplies with other elements. The theology of the later time took its task to be not merely the proclamation of saving belief, but also the justification of the whole Christian theory of the universe, of this Christian 'philosophy,' before the bar of heathen thought. It must have been easy for this theology to take up philosophical elements of the extra-biblical speculation into their sphere of thought, and to join them with the truths of the Christian belief. We see this in Justin. But there is nothing of this in John. The proclamation of Jesus Christ that we have here is not philosophical, but one belonging to the history of salvation and for the sake of belief.³

As this is true of the dogmatical sphere, it is no less true of the ethical. John's literature, in laying stress on the *ἐντολή* ('commandments') in Christianity, bears towards the later legal development and corruption in the Catholic Church a relation much like that borne by those great dogmatical views of the Paraclete and Logos to the later dogmatical development. There is a certain analogy between John's gospel and the doctrinal forms of the second century. That is all right. But they have let themselves be deceived by that, and have taken the analogy for agreement, not

remarking the great distinction between the original groundwork and the later-born developments.

Indeed, that is in general the palpable and unmistakeable difference between this book and the productions of the following time. It stands head and shoulder above all sub-apostolic books. Its author would have been a mind without an equal in the generation of the second century. And not a trace of recollection of this 'great unknown' has been kept! Do we know almost all the authors of the other books, and only not know him? But such a book cannot have been written in the second century at all. Every man belongs to his time, and no one stands lonely on a steep height without connection with his surroundings.

There are two periods of literature that follow hard on the apostolic age,—the time of the so-called apostolic fathers, and the time of the theological teachers of the Church from Justin on. Thiersch is perfectly right⁴ when, appealing to Johann Müller the historian, and Schelling the philosopher, he shows the surprising contrast in mind between the apostolic fathers and the powerful intellectual creations of the New Testament. The prolixity of Clement of Rome, the pathos of Ignatius, the arbitrary typology of the letter of Barnabas, and even the rhetoric of the letter to Diognetus, display but the more strongly the great contrast in mind. If any one of the apostles' pupils was celebrated, it was Polycarp, the 'father' of Asia Minor. When we read his letter, we cannot help being surprised that such a renowned chief of Christendom at that day had not, and could not bring forth, more mental originality and fulness of thought. And Papias, whether Eusebius⁵ was right or wrong in calling him *σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν* ('small in mind'), certainly makes no exception. He himself recognised and named it as his task only to walk in the way of tradition. And these

two men were among the most important in the circle of the elders whom Irenæus knew personally, and to whom Clement of Alexandria appealed. A book of such mental height as John's gospel could not come forth from a circle made up of such men. There is no room for it in this age. Upon this age of faithfulness, but of mental inferiority, follows with Justin an age of higher mental gifts, but of learning and reflection. Theology begins. Justin drew the ground-lines, which later men developed. But it was these very beginnings of theological science which adapted the new Christian thoughts to the general philosophical mode of thinking. John's gospel lies beyond this scientific treatment of the Christian sphere of thought, and its accommodation to the philosophical thought of the day.

It is a proclamation of the truth become incarnate, and not a scientific and learned treatment of the doctrine of that truth. Here, too, in this whirl of theological work from Justin to Irenæus, there is no room for a book like John's gospel.⁶

Nor is there an inch of room, on the other side, in Gnosticism. John's gospel has little in common with the unproductiveness of the apostolic fathers, and with the science and learning of the following theological teachers of the Church; but it has far less in common with the phantasies of Gnosticism. It is not a bad thing when Thiersch⁷ replies to such attempts, that we must then be able to hold it possible that Plato's *Timæus*, and Proclus' commentary on it, or that the Homeric poems and the Sophists who declared them allegorical, belonged to one and the same generation. Besides, John's eschatology is an out-and-out impossibility for Gnosticism.

Therefore there is no place in the second century or the origin of the fourth gospel. On the contrary,

the originality of this book points us to the first century, for it presupposes a soil that is not yet occupied by tradition. And thus the testimony of the fourth gospel about itself cannot be shaken from this side.

Among all the doubts they can raise against the recognition of the external as well as internal testimony of the fourth gospel, only one is of weight. That is, its relation to the synoptists. If this should make the composition of the fourth gospel by a disciple of Jesus impossible, we should have to let an unsolved contradiction stand between the result of our historical inquiries and the result of this comparison. In this conflict, however, the greater weight would always have to go to the facts rather than to the results of our own study.

¹ Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis*, Halle, 1849; somewhat moderated, *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 229 ff.; defends, *Das Urchristenthum*, Jena, 1855, p. 116 f.; *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1857, 4 Heft, pp. 515-522; *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1863, pp. 96-115, 214-228; 1868, p. 213 f.; 1870, p. 263 ff.

² Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen, 1845, p. 252.

³ See what is said about Justin, above, pp. 52-66, and my treatise on *Justin der Märtyrer und das Evangelium Johannis*. *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, 1856 (Neue Folge, xxxii. Bd. 1 and 2 Hefte, Juli und August), p. 69 ff.

⁴ Thiersch, *ut supra*, pp. 248, 250, 289.

⁵ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix. 13; *Opera*, edit. Dindorf, Leipzig, vol. iv. (1871) p. 135.

⁶ Thiersch, *ut supra*, p. 287.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 287 f.

CHAPTER IX.

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL AND THE SYNOPTISTS.

IN the critical view, no other argument in the Johannean question passes for so irrefutable and decisive as the one drawn from the inconsistency of the synoptic and Johannean accounts. If we have in the synoptic story a historical account of the life and works of Jesus, then, they declare, John's story cannot be historical, and so cannot be from a disciple of Jesus. The question then is: Are the two accounts so contradictory that they exclude each other, or do they agree, and perhaps even require each other? In this question we have to do with the historical recital, with the discourses of Jesus, with the Christology, and, finally, with the whole subjective character of the fourth gospel in comparison with the first three. That will exhaust all the points of view that come into consideration in this question.

1. THE HISTORICAL RECITAL.

It is unquestionable that the fourth gospel presupposes the historical material of the first three. But the critics must also own that it presupposes the gospel history in the very way it is reported by the first three, and therefore presupposes these gospel books. They agree to this, but assume that the

author of the fourth gospel spun out the historical material of the first three in a free way to his romance of the Logos. That is as much as saying that he recast the history reported by the synoptists in such a way as to put his fiction in the place of that history. But this is not the case. He places his account on the historical basis of the synoptists. Therefore he recognises this basis, as may be seen from various express references. He does not aim at such allusions. Where they occur, they are occasioned by the proper historical action. Yet they are facts. Thus the remark at ii. 12, *οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας* ('not many days'), has reference to the later time, when Jesus dwelt a long while at Capernaum, of which time the fourth gospel tells nothing, but only the synoptists. Again, iii. 24 is meant to show the relation of that account to the fact given only by the first three gospels, and not by the fourth, that Jesus has come forward as the prophet of Galilee, in place of the imprisoned Baptist. In the synoptists, the Galilean activity of Jesus occupies the broad ground of the historical recital. The fourth does not tell about it at all, but presupposes it, as may be learned from vi. 1 and vii. 1. The remark in vi. 2, that those Galilean crowds followed Jesus, *ὅτι ἑώραν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων* ('because they saw his miracles which he did on them that were diseased'), places us, as the imperfect also shows, in a long-continuing period of Jesus' miraculous working in Galilee. We know it only from the synoptists, not from John; but the latter confirms by these words what the former tell about it. On the evening after the feeding the five thousand, the disciples, unbidden, sail straight back to Capernaum, vi. 17, and Jesus meets them there as well as the people who had sought Him, vi. 24. All this is most simply explained by what

we know, not from John, indeed, but from the synoptists, about Jesus' stay in Capernaum.

The result of this examination as to the whole historical basis of the synoptic story repeats itself in the various details. Thus at xi. 2 the anointing of Jesus by Mary of Bethany is presupposed as known, since the evangelist only brings it forward in the following chapter. And in xviii. 24, 28, the hearing of Jesus at Caiaphas' is mentioned, but not related, because it is presupposed that the readers know it.

The author of the fourth gospel, therefore, not only is acquainted with, but owns and confirms the first three, and founds his story on the known basis of the synoptic story. Hence they cannot, like Keim,¹ talk merely of 'things borrowed,' or say that the fourth 'went in the train' of the other three. His recognition of them is not dependence, but confirmation.

Dependence.

This certainly could not be said if Holtzmann were right.² He thinks he can prove that the fourth gospel is dependent not only on the account, but also on the wording of the first three, so that this dependence reaches to the most detailed turns of speech and words, and to the position and number of words. To characterize this style of argument, we simply print off the beginning of it:³—'The ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ('there was a man") in John i. 6, and οὗτος ἦλθεν ('the same came") in i. 7, recall Luke iii. 2, ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην ('the Word of God came to John") (see Mark i. 4), and Luke iii. 3, καὶ ἦλθεν ("and he came"). Further on, the ἐν ὕδατι ("with water") of John i. 26 fits better the wording of Matt. iii. 11 (= Mark i. 8?) than the simple ὕδατι of Luke iii.

' 16; but the citation i. 23 falls back upon the
 ' synoptic account in general, Mark i. 2, 3 = Matt.
 ' iii. 3 = Luke iii. 4, and the *ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος*
 ' ("who coming after me"), i. 27, leads directly to
 ' Matt. iii. 11 = Mark i. 7. On the other hand, *ἵνα*
 ' *λύσω* ("to undo") shows that the form of Mark i.
 ' 7 = Luke iii. 16 is preferred to that of the first
 ' gospel. The end of the verse i. 27, *τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ*
 ' *ὑποδήματος* ("shoe's latchet"), agrees likewise with
 ' Mark i. 7 = Luke iii. 16, only that these texts
 ' have *τῶν ὑποδημάτων* ("shoes"). Mark i. 8, the
 ' declaration "I baptize with water," does not come
 ' till after the saying about the sandals; hence John
 ' has here really held to Luke. So, too, the elements
 ' of the account of the baptism, John i. 32, namely,
 ' *τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὡς περιστεράν* ("the Spirit descend-
 ' ing . . . like a dove") and *ἐπ' αὐτόν* ("upon him"),
 ' are found in the synoptic account, Mark i. 10 =
 ' Matt. iii. 16 = Luke iii. 22; and this time Mark
 ' and Matthew fit better than Luke. On the con-
 ' trary, the prophesied Messianic baptism *ἐν πνεύματι*
 ' *ἁγίῳ* ("with the Holy Spirit"), John i. 33, is from
 ' Mark i. 8 = Matt. iii. 11 = Luke iii. 16; but
 ' this time Mark fits better than both the others.
 ' Finally, in i. 34, the testimony at the baptism, *ὅτι*
 ' *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* ("that this is the Son of
 ' God"), corresponds entirely to the form into which
 ' Matt. iii. 17 changes the voice from heaven given
 ' in Mark i. 11 = Luke iii. 22; Matthew reads *οὗτός*
 ' *ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου* ("this is my Son"). And so it goes
 on. In each thing told, the single words are traced
 back to the respective synoptists from whom they are
 borrowed. Holtzmann⁴ protested, from the first, that
 he would not consider it a refutation if one or another
 of the numerous examples he quoted 'should be
 picked out and set forth for public sympathy as a

weak support of far-reaching consequences.' He will not be able to make this objection to the quotation above. And we could proceed a long while with like quotations, for the method is the same throughout. We think, however, that the example given carries its own refutation with it. In this way we pledge ourselves to prove the most different books to be dependent upon each other. What has here been done for the synoptists, and has been extended by Holtzmann to Acts, holds just as good for all the rest of the New Testament books. Is the fourth gospel, therefore, dependent in its composition on all of them, and that, too, not merely in its sphere of thought, but also in the detailed wording and in the position of the single words? What conception shall we form for ourselves of the mental process of the author, if we must think of him as ever busy looking hither and thither in the book-rolls, and borrowing his expressions first from this one and then from that one? And nevertheless the fourth gospel is, in the matter of speech and in style, as well as in thought and in its whole plan, an original work, with oneness of conception and of execution! No, this is a psychological impossibility, that Holtzmann will hardly persuade anybody to take as a reality.

It is quite natural that the fourth evangelist should resemble the first three in his expressions in manifold ways. He shares with them in great part the same historical material, the same recollections and traditions, and the same gospel. Something very odd would have come to pass if he had not been like them at times. If he knew their books, as we shall have to assume, he might agree with them here and there in single expressions, without our needing always to see a direct design in it. But to make such a mosaic-like proceeding of it and such a servile dependence as

Holtzmann does, would be to presuppose a small and mechanical mind, against which the whole gospel would rise in the most decided opposition.

The gospel opposes in like manner Holtzmann's fancies about dependence in the historical materials of the account. Here, again, to characterize the thing, and at the same time avoid all protests, a connected bit from the end is quoted word for word:—'The history of Lazarus, which has not been touched yet, is of great interest. The story of Jairus' daughter, belonging to the synoptic groundwork, affects even the tradition of the young man at Nain, which is peculiar to Luke. That is to say, the call to the mother, Luke vii. 13, and to the son, Luke vii. 14, reminds us strongly of Luke viii. 52, 54. But the saying about the child's sleep (*καθεύδει*, Mark v. 39 = Matt. ix. 24 = Luke viii. 52) affects no less the declaration, *Λάζαρος κεκοίμηται* ("Lazarus sleepeth"), John xi. 11. [!]

Gfrörer and Freytag proved the direct influence of Luke's scene at Nain on John's at Bethany. Hence Baur,⁶ as is well known, took the story of Lazarus to be a second heightening of the story of Jairus, and pointed to Luke x. 38-42, and xvi. 19-31, as material that served for further colouring. Luke's parable of the poor Lazarus, in xvi. 19-31, was most happily worked up by Zeller, who proved the direct descent of John's Lazarus from the synoptic one. Compare the very beginning, Luke xvi. 20, *πρωχὸς δέ τις ὀνόματι Λάζαρος* ("there was a certain beggar named Lazarus"), with John xi. 1, *ἦν δέ τις ἀσθενῶν Λάζαρος* ("now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus") [!]. Thus John's Lazarus, taken as the male member of the house in which the anointing at Bethany is said to have occurred, steps into the place of the synoptic Simon, John xii. 1, 2. For this very reason John could, in the way proved above, bring about the com-

'bination of the synoptic story with Luke's story of an
 'anointing, where also the host is named Simon. But
 'this Simon, in Mark xiv. 3 = Matt. xxvi. 6, is called
 'Σίμων ὁ λεπρός ("Simon the leper"). Hence the more
 'reason to identify him with Lazarus. As the medium
 'of identification, we must take the disease of Lazarus
 'in the parable, Luke xvi. 20, εἰλωμένον ("covered
 'with sores") = λεπρός ("leper"). But now the synop-
 'tists tell the story of a healed leper, Mark i. 40-45 =
 'Matt. viii. 1-4 = Luke v. 12-16; and, in fact, the pre-
 'sence of certain parallels cannot be denied. For, aside
 'from what was above hinted at concerning Mark, the
 'end is the same both times, namely, that Jesus with-
 'draws Himself into the desert, Mark i. 45, ἐν ἐρήμοις
 'τόποις ("in desert places") = Luke v. 16, ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις
 '("into the wilderness") = John xi. 54, ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου
 '("near the wilderness"); while the report of what had
 'taken place calls forth the greatest sensation, Mark i.
 '45 = Luke v. 15 = John xi. 45-48, xii. 9, 11, 17, 18.
 'Nor should the fact be lost sight of that the close of
 'Luke's story of the raising from the dead, vii. 17,
 'agrees almost word for word with his account of the
 'spread of the miracle of healing just spoken of, Luke
 'v. 15. And so John could the better finish this com-
 'bination. The leprosy shut one out from the society
 'of the living [and yet they would make the poor
 'Lazarus to have been leprous while he lay at the rich
 'man's door!], so that the leper, while living, was
 'dead; and besides, another of those healed by Jesus
 'had his dwelling literally in the place where Lazarus
 'was raised, ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν ("in the tombs"), Mark v.
 '3, 5. What ought a body to say to such a web of
 caprices? To refute it is as superfluous as it is
 impossible. It is not a case for thoughtful research.
 It is a mere play of fancy. But it is certainly to be
 deplored that an earnest mind, by wishing to be too

keen-sighted, should to such a degree lose the sense of the simple truth, and so far forsake the track of scientific solidity, that people are utterly unable to follow him.

Of course the fourth gospel is connected with the synoptists. But independence goes hand in hand with this union. As we have seen, the evangelist shows an independent knowledge not only of Jewish and Pales-tinean relations, but also of the gospel history.

Variations.

It has often been said,⁷ that if he had owed his knowledge of the gospel history only to the synoptists, he would not have dared to put his account in such a free way independently at the side of the synoptic account. Only one who could come forward with independent authority for his statements would dare to try such variations from the synoptic tradition, which ruled the Church's whole view. The freedom with which he moves, and with which he handles the synoptic account, even where no purpose can be seen in so doing, shows the calm consciousness of one who has a right to act thus. Nor has the Church's view of the gospel let itself be led astray by these variations. It was too sure of the author's apostolic authority. 'An author who had written this gospel only to make an opening in this way for certain thoughts, could never have dared to invent a basis of facts which varied so much from the ruling tradition. This is a principle against which no other explanation can raise itself with the least show in the world.'⁸ And yet, again, these variations agree so well with the synoptic account, that they all may be joined in a united historical picture.

It is true that, if the variations were such as Keim makes them, there would be no room to talk of this united picture. A Christ who 'is not born, is not baptized, does not struggle, and does not suffer,'⁹ has, of course, an entirely different history from the synoptic Christ, or rather he has no history at all. Nor could they say that 'the whole flesh and blood of this history is to be explained from the philosophy' of the evangelist, for there can, in general, not a word be said about flesh and blood. He becomes a ghost, before whom one must be affrighted, as the disciples were when they took Jesus for a spirit, Matt. xiv. 26. Yet we see in the fourth gospel that the disciples did not stand off from Jesus in affright, but that the more they knew Him the more they gave themselves up to Him. As He loved them to the end, xiii. 1, so they in turn loved Him. And it is entirely in the spirit of the fourth gospel when, in its appendix, xxi. 15, the Risen One asks the disciple not about his philosophy, but about his love: 'Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?'

John's Christ is not 'born.' His birth is not told. Does that deny it? If He has Mary for His mother, ii. 1, then the Logos' becoming flesh, that is, becoming man, is surely to be understood as a birth, and not as a Marcionite appearance in human form. He 'is not baptized.' The evangelist does not tell of the baptism of Jesus, but he presupposes it and hints at it. For when the Baptist puts his baptizing in such close causal connection with his recognition and testimony to Jesus as the Christ, i. 32 f., the passage can hardly be understood otherwise than that the Baptist baptized Jesus, and at that occasion owned Him as the Messiah. Even Holtzmann has acknowledged this.¹⁰ John's Christ 'does not struggle.' What does it mean, then, when, at xii. 27, He calls out, 'Now is my soul

troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour; but for this cause came I unto this hour'? We here see His whole soul struggling with the anguish of His nature, and rising to obedience of will, just as in Gethsemane. It is a prelude, the only possible prelude, to that mighty agony. And how can they say He did not suffer, when they see He drank 'the cup' which His Father gave Him, xviii. 11? The love for piquant turns of speech becomes free invention, passing far beyond the measure of what is allowable, when it steps into such contradiction of expressly attested history.

The Scene Different.

If we content ourselves with the variations which belong to the account itself, and not to poetry, the scene of Jesus' activity comes first of all into consideration. In the synoptists it is almost exclusively Galilee. In the first gospel this limitation is occasioned by its apologetical tendency, which had to pay regard to the reproach of the Galilean; see John vii. 52. Hence, also, that makes the history of Jesus end in Galilee, xxviii. 16 ff., while it was, nevertheless, the original Christian tradition that Jesus took leave of His disciples at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, a designed limitation to the Galilean scene of action. That apologetical tendency decided the character of the tradition in Palestine, and this became a rule for the other two gospels, in which this tradition stored itself away. In the fourth gospel, on the contrary, Judea is the chief scene of the activity of Jesus, and the feast journeys to Jerusalem form the thread to which the progress of the history attaches itself. It is easy to see why this is so. According to the first

gospels, also, Jerusalem and Judea are the home of orthodoxy and of the enmity against Jesus. This appears not only at His last stay in Jerusalem, but also before that. Jerusalem is the place whence the Scribes come who oppose Him in Galilee, Mark iii. 22. Now the fourth gospel wishes to describe for us the history of the conflict between Jesus and His opponents, and therefore constantly leads us to the scenes at Jerusalem. Accordingly we shall find that this only answers to the real circumstances. Indeed, it is not hard to show that it is no mere invention. In itself we must have found it improbable that Jesus, during His official working, should never have come to Jerusalem.¹¹ Should merely the boy of twelve, Luke ii. 41 ff., and not the man as well, have visited Jerusalem at the feast times? Should He, who came not to destroy but to fulfil the law and the prophets, have so fully dispensed Himself from the law of the festal visits to Jerusalem? But the repeated 'how often' in the lamentation over Jerusalem shows that He did not dispense Himself from these, Matt. xxiii. 37, Luke xiii. 34. If Jesus had often wished to call Jerusalem to Himself, He must have been there often. It is a mere evasion when Baur¹² wishes to understand all Israelites by the 'children' of Jerusalem. He can bring no voucher for such a change of meaning. When Jesus complains of the unbelief of the Galileans, He names Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida, the cities of Galilee. When He names the children of Jerusalem, he means, accordingly, these, and not the former. Even Strauss¹³ owns, 'Here all evasions are in vain; and we must confess, if these are really the words of Jesus, He must have been active at Jerusalem oftener and longer than would appear from the synoptic accounts.' Yet for this very reason he seeks to put aside the historical character of these words. Following an earlier attempt

of Baur's, he tries to make it credible¹⁴ that the words are borrowed from a lost book, in which the Wisdom of God is introduced as speaking, and that they are only thrust into the mouth of Jesus. But this lost book is all fancy. And even were what he says the case, the transfer to Jesus must have been possible, and the words applicable to Him, and so what is there said of the 'Wisdom' must likewise have been fulfilled in Him. Hence the actual result remains the same: the synoptists hint at a repeated presence of Jesus in Jerusalem. Nobody would ever have reached such evasions but for starting from the false principle that the evangelists either are ignorant of, or deny altogether, whatever they do not relate in so many words.

Bleek¹⁵ is right in recalling the mention of Mary and Martha in Luke x. 38 ff. For from the fact that Luke does not expressly name Bethany here, it does not follow that he has transferred the event to Galilee, as even Meyer thinks. These sisters were well enough known from the gospel tradition. John xi. 2 presupposes the story of the anointing, and Matt. xxvi. 13 shows that it formed a part of the tradition. It is true that Matthew does not name Mary, but the woman cannot have been nameless in the tradition. The fourth gospel proves that tradition gave her no other name.

As, now, the synoptists knew of and only do not tell about a repeated stay of Jesus in Jerusalem, so, as we convinced ourselves above, the fourth gospel knew of the activity of Jesus in Galilee reported by the synoptists, only it contents itself with mentioning and not relating that activity, vi. 1, vii. 1, and vii. 52. The case is the same with the activity of Jesus in Perea, which, in the synoptists, lies in the middle between the Galilean and Jerusalem activity, and

which is not unknown to the fourth evangelist. See John x. 40, *πάλιν* ('again').

It is certain that John puts before the Galilean stay of Jesus an activity in Judea, ii. and iii., which the synoptists, iv., seem to know nothing of. But the latter evidently skip a time that they pass with silence, for they make the imprisonment of John the Baptist and the appearance of Jesus as the Galilean Prophet follow at once upon the baptism of Jesus. But these facts could hardly have followed each other so directly. The baptism took place on the lower Jordan, and the imprisonment in Herod Antipas' domain. The Baptist must have transferred the scene of his activity from the former to the latter region, and after giving his testimony as to the people and its spiritual heads, have turned it against the prince of Galilee. How much time lay between, the synoptists do not tell us. But we are bound to suppose that time did intervene. Therefore the synoptic account, at least, does not exclude the possibility of an activity of Jesus before His Galilean appearance in the stead of the imprisoned Baptist.

To this possibility left by the synoptists is added the probability that lies in the thing itself. Wittichen,¹⁶ without being cowed by Keim's¹⁷ apodictic assertions, rightly declares a one year's duration of Jesus' activity to be improbable, 'if we recall the whole compass of the events, and their influence on the disciples.' Keim thinks¹⁸ that Jesus could not have 'held out so long against the high tide of the hierarchy' as the fourth gospel would have it. But, of course, the conflict was not at 'high tide' from the first. It only gradually rose to that. If, however, a time of working preceded the Galilean year, then the various statements of the fourth gospel, such as the coming of certain disciples to Jesus, and the appearance in Jerusalem, are at

least proved to be possible, if not probable. It is therefore arbitrary to talk coolly of a change in the order.¹⁹ It must first be proved that Jesus could not start out at once with such a practical testimony to repentance as the cleansing of the temple, just as, according to the witness of the synoptists, He left the scene with the same deed. It was alike fit at the beginning and at the close of His activity. 'The saying about the destruction of the temple' is different at the beginning and at the end; just as different as are the first hint and the tragic event of a conflict.

It is true that the gaze of the fourth evangelist, at the very beginning of the story, is directed to its issue. He wishes to show in the beginning the beginning of the end. This gives his historical presentation its peculiar character. He repeatedly seems to take later facts before their time. This is not, however, an un-historical anticipation of the historical events. It is an effort to seize and set forth the inner essence of the history, and the substance that lies at the base of the particular events. Look at two characteristic examples. If anything be certain, it is that Jesus instituted baptism and the holy supper. It does not enter the head of any writer of the early church to deny this. The whole continuance of the Christian Church rested on baptism, and the holy supper was the middle point of her worship. Now the fourth evangelist mentions neither the one nor the other. It were folly to assume that his silence betokens hostility, or even rejection. In that case he would have put himself out of connection with the Church. Therefore, although he does not speak of these, it is nevertheless a matter of course that he recognised them. Instead of the institution of these two acts of baptism and of the Lord's supper, he has the conversation with Nicodemus and the discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum. The former

is related to baptism as the latter is to the Lord's supper. Christ speaks of Christian baptism in the former as little as of the holy supper in the latter. But the first discourse names what is presupposed in baptism, and the second what is presupposed in the Lord's supper. Because there is a baptism with the Holy Ghost, there is therefore the act of Christian baptism; and the baptism with water in the name of Christ is a baptism with the Holy Ghost. And because there is such a communion of the flesh and blood of Christ as John vi. describes, there is therefore a Christian sacrament of the Lord's supper; and this supper, which Christ instituted in memory of Himself, is a supper of his body given unto death, and of his shed blood. The earlier presuppositions contain already the concealed substance of the later external events. This is characteristic of the whole way that John writes history. The first three gospels lay the external facts at the base, and show a higher meaning in these; the fourth starts from the internal meaning of the history, or, as they say, from the idea, and makes that determine the choice and presentation of the history. It is only to an external way of considering the matter that this can seem to be an unhistorical anticipation.

No Progress.

This relieves the objection raised by Baur against the fourth gospel. He said that it was unfavourably distinguished from the first three, because there was no progress in its history. All is finished at the very beginning. The closing catastrophe, long ready, is only kept off in an external and mechanical way. There is no progress or development. Keim,²⁰ too,

comes back repeatedly to this accusation. It rests, however, in the main, on mistaking that peculiarity of John's way of writing history. The author of the epistle calls one who hates his brother a murderer, because the deed is set implicitly in the first motion of the disposition, and has only to bring itself out as a deed. In the same way, the author of the gospel sees as already present, in the opposition called forth by Jesus' supposed breach of the Sabbath, v. 16, the murderous disposition which appeared in the death sentence. It is the fourth evangelist's habit to behold and to show the whole in the single part, and the end in the beginning. Yet the single part does not thereupon cease to be a single part, nor does the beginning cease to be a beginning; for other facts are added to that first fact. At last it reads: 'This man doeth many miracles,' xi. 47, and that is the basis for the death decree. To the evangelist, the murderous disposition is present in that first opposition, v. 18. But it takes time yet for the enemies of Jesus to look the thought of murder square in the eye, and dare to raise it not merely to the resolve, but also to the decree. Between the former and the latter lies the heightening of the conflict, as it is visibly presented, especially in chapter viii. In fact, as even Hilgenfeld,²¹ for example, owns, the fourth gospel is not lacking in progress and development. The development, nevertheless, would not be development, if the very beginning did not carry the close in its bosom. The gaze of the evangelist is from the first directed at these concealed contents, which fix the real meaning of the events, and form the substance of the history. No gospel is so dramatically planned as the fourth; none displays the great drama of the life of Jesus as this does. No unprejudiced person can avoid such an impression. That, however, includes at

the same time the progress of the action. We see how the plot thickens, and how it is solved by force. Yet it thickens only because at the very beginning the threads begin to weave themselves together, i. 19 ff. The end is made ready in this beginning. We see it coming on and finishing itself by internal necessity.

It is an utter mistake as to the story when they say that, as all motives were long ago used up, the evangelist had to have a new event, the raising of Lazarus at Bethany, to make the catastrophe possible. Since the synoptists know nothing of this, and yet the decision rests on it in John, he must have an altogether different story from them, and, indeed, one that is not historical. It is not conceivable that all the synoptists 'slept'²² through this great miracle. And as the death of Jesus, in John, depends on this, it 'hangs entirely in the air.'²³ Since Baur brought this argument to bear with all weight on the historical character of the gospel, it has been often repeated. But the decree of the Sanhedrim by no means finds its motive in the raising of Lazarus. They talk rather of the 'many miracles' which Jesus does, xi. 47. Although that fact was the occasion for this last step, it was not the ground; and so the synoptists have not another story because they are silent about Lazarus. In them, as in John, it is the enthusiasm of the people for the miracle-worker and Messiah that determines the heads of Israel to the decisive step; and Jesus was the miracle-worker in the eyes of the people, with and without the raising of Lazarus. Hence the synoptists do not need it. That also takes away the necessity of our explaining why they do not mention it. But ought it to be so hard to see this? They are silent as to Bethany in general, or mention it but hastily, just as they are silent about Cana at the be-

ginning. They arrange their account by the great stations, Galilee, Perea, and Jerusalem. Everything else retires before the stress laid on these three great stations. For this reason they make Jesus enter Jerusalem directly from Jericho. Did Jesus, however, stop first at Bethany, as John tells us, then the festal entry which the synoptists relate is the more easily explained. They would be prepared for His arrival in Jerusalem.

Representation of Jesus.

Since Baur, they find the lack of development especially in the method of characterizing Jesus Himself and his disciples. Christ is 'complete at the beginning,'²⁴ and His disciples no less. In the synoptists, Jesus declares Himself as the Messiah only little by little, and the disciples come only gradually to the belief in and confession of his Messiahship. Here both are present from the first. Growth and progress are wanting. This shows the unhistorical character of the fourth gospel. Thus runs the accusation. But we must distinguish. Is it the Messianic self-consciousness or self-witness which grows by degrees in Jesus, according to the representation of the synoptists? It certainly is not the first. According to the opinion of the synoptists, the development of his Messianic consciousness, as well as, earlier, of his consciousness of Sonship, is unquestionably to be transferred not to the short time of his public work, but to the long time which precedes that. As He comes to baptism, He is inwardly 'complete.' It is not hard to see that this is the opinion of the synoptists. Luke's story about the twelve-year-old boy is not the only thing which is meant to let us look in upon the

process of his consciousness, which was completing itself within Him. The synoptic account of the baptism itself and of the temptation is, more than anything else, decisive for our knowledge of that. When the Baptist proclaims the greater One who will baptize with the Spirit and with fire, that is, as is acknowledged, the designation of the Messiah. And when he refuses to baptize Jesus, and desires rather to be baptized by Him, he expresses his recognition of Jesus' Messiahship. For this very reason he afterwards directs the question to Jesus from the prison, because the actions of Jesus do not seem to him to stand in accord with his Messiahship. Thus, at the very entrance upon his calling, the identification of his person with the Messianic idea met Jesus. The divine voice at his baptism, according to the opinion of the synoptists, is to be understood as a divine confirmation of his own Messianic consciousness. And the account of the temptation rests entirely on this. The temptation is the internal maintaining of the divine Messiahship over against the fleshly Messiahship of the common Israelite expectation. Hence, according to the synoptic account, too, at least the Messianic consciousness of Jesus is 'complete' from the first, and lies at the base of all his work. After that there is, in the synoptists also, nothing to be found of a 'growth' and 'progress with the time,'²⁵ at least for the Messianic consciousness. Jesus does not declare Himself at the first to be the Messiah: the reason, however, is, not that He had not yet completed the process of identification with the idea of the Messiah, but that other regards of a pedagogical nature required it. Yet does Jesus in John declare Himself at once to be the Messiah? He foreshadows it. We find an open, round confession only in the case of the Samaritan woman, iv. 26; but here apparently as an exception, without witnesses. And

the Jews, even in x. 24, or only a quarter of a year before his death, reproach Him because He holds their souls in doubt, and does not speak out plainly whether He be the Messiah or not. Although, therefore, Jesus had revealed Himself so decidedly as the Messiah, his confession must still have always had something general, indefinite, and wavering about it. They should have found the Messianic testimony in his testimony, rather than that He should have spoken it out naked and quite unveiled. Yet, on the other hand, in the synoptists also, He reveals Himself clearly enough from the first as the Messiah. His whole coming bears this sense. His position over against the men 'of old time,' in the sermon on the mount, showed Him to be such. He does not evade the Baptist's question from the prison, but answers yes. Throughout He declares Himself as the One who should come as the goal of the Old Testament hope. We see, then, that the progress, not of His growth, but of his Messianic testimony, is essentially the same in both places.

The Belief of the Disciples.

Nor is the Messianic belief of the disciples different in the two accounts. They had the Baptist's testimony, or at least had heard of it. And that, too, was the question which moved Israel, namely, whether Jesus be the Messiah or not. This was the case not only at a later time, but from the very beginning. Jesus, at the close, refers his opponents to the testimony of the Baptist about Him, Matt. xxi. 25 f. There was, from the first, no question as to what Jesus was to be or wished to be. The only question was, whether He had a right to this or not. When the

disciples followed Him, this following was an actual expression of their belief on that testimony. It was only natural that they should need time before they could speak this belief out in the round words of an undoubting confession. It is not as if they had not believed from the first; and yet there was something hesitating about it. It was rather a foreshadowing belief of the heart, that had still to grow quite clear, firm, and certain; but that which grew was already present at the beginning. John emphasizes the presence of belief at the beginning more strongly than the synoptists do; but that is merely a part of his way of writing history, as we have learned to know it. He does not contradict the representation of the synoptists when he makes Philip and Nathanael confess the Messiahship of Jesus as soon as they first meet and follow Him. It is the first gleam of the certainty of belief, without which the disciples, in the synoptists too, would not have joined themselves to Jesus. Much, however, is wanting still to their being complete in this belief in John's opinion. At the next self-witness of Jesus, ii. 11, it is said of them that they believed on Him, just as if they had not been believing before. Hence we see how they progressed in certainty of belief. Peter's confession, vi. 69, half a year before the synoptic confession, Matt. xvi. 16, agrees in its more general form with the earlier stage, though in its substance it is the same as the later. That is the very reason the fourth gospel brings it in, quite in its usual manner. And thus we see that the difference between the synoptists and John is not so absolute as it is represented to be. In so far as the synoptists have a growth, John has it too. And in so far as Jesus and the disciples are complete in the latter, they are the same in the former, although, perhaps, the emphasis in the two is differently distributed.

The Day of Jesus' Death.

In all this, the real or supposed variations from the synoptic relation, and the whole method of the historical narrative of the fourth gospel, are no proof of its want of historical character; and the case is the same with regard to the day of Jesus' death. We leave the question as to the difference itself unsettled; we have only to do with the conclusion drawn therefrom. Keim²⁶ finds that, with respect to the determination of the time of the last supper of Jesus, 'the advantage turns incontestably to the side of the old gospels. It is one of the surest things in the world that Jesus kept the passover feast with his disciples before his death; that He celebrated it with the people on the legal day; . . . and therefore that He could only have died after that day, that is, on the fifteenth and not on the fourteenth Nisan. If they will not believe the gospels, they must believe Paul, the ancient witness,' etc. If John's gospel changes this determination of the time, it is because 'it wished to put aside the Jewish law;' 'it wished to make the death of Jesus appear as the fulfilling, and thereby at once as the abolition of the law. This was done by the ingenious transfer of the death of Jesus to the fourteenth, and by the most diligent, most persistent, and most forced urging of the idea of the passover and of the passover lamb through the whole gospel.'²⁷ Baur had pressed this point of view. Keim pursues the thought further, but he overdoes it. 'The persistent and forced urging of the idea of the passover lamb' is his own invention. The Baptist names Christ so at the beginning, if his words, i. 29, are to be understood thus, and not to be referred to Isa. liii. 7; in ii., Jesus came forward to the passover feast at Jerusalem; in vi., a passover is

mentioned again; and that is all. Nothing but the passover at the death, and the fulfilling of the passover sacrifice in Jesus the crucified, xix. 36, are left. That, however, is no more than we find in Paul, when he calls Jesus the Passover Lamb, slain for us, 1 Cor. v. 7. This thought is proper to the whole ancient church, and lies at the base of their celebration of the passover, although the Church also follows the chronology of the synoptic tradition. And, moreover, the application which the writer of Hebrews has in mind, and wishes his readers to make, at the words xi. 28, rests upon this parallel. There is therefore nothing to be found of 'persistent and forced urging of the idea of the passover lamb.' It is still more improbable, then, that the author of the fourth gospel changed the chronology of the passion of Jesus just for the sake of this idea. Why should he? The fulfilling does not lie in the day and the hour, but in the thing. The evangelist, in xix. 36, lays stress on the fact that Jesus on the cross remained unbroken, not on the coincidence in time with the slaying of the passover lamb in the temple court. Paul saw the idea of the passover lamb realized in Jesus, and nevertheless, as Keim mentions,²⁸ shared the tradition that Jesus kept the passover supper at the same time with the Jews, and therefore died on the fifteenth Nisan. The Pauline gospel, Luke's, follows the same reckoning. If, now, the synoptic tradition agreed with this idea, why should this idea have made a change in the chronology necessary for the fourth evangelist? Hence its chronology, be the case therewith as it may, is no proof against the historical character of the gospel.

We have compared the historical representation of the fourth gospel with the synoptic representation, and have convinced ourselves that the variations of

the former representation from the latter are not the product of the idea, and a proof of a want of historical character. We have rather learned that the former representation puts itself on the latter as its historical basis, thereby both confirming it and joining itself to it in a united historical picture.

The Disciples.

But the way in which the disciples and the Jews are presented is said to prove it to be not historical, because it contradicts historical reality, and not seldom historical possibility. In the case of both, of the disciples as well as of the Jews, the want of understanding that they show towards the words of Jesus is drawn in such strong lines as to reveal plainly that this description is only a means for the dialectic movement of the thoughts. I have already discussed this objection of Baur's more closely in my *Gospel of St. John*; hence it will be enough here to pay but brief attention to it. Even in the representation of the synoptists, the understanding of the disciples is small, and entirely incomprehensible to us, as may be seen from passages in which Jesus wonders at their lack of understanding, as in Mark iv. 13, or Matt. xvi. 9 ff., or in those in which He has to punish their foolish thoughts, as in Matt. xvi. 23 or xx. 22 ff. If we let those passages work upon us with their full weight, we cannot help owning that the disciples, in the fourth gospel, are not represented as less intelligent than in the three first. The advantage they have over others in the latter by belief and knowledge of the person of Jesus Christ, Matt. xvi. 15 f., is the same in John i. 46 (Eng. vers. 45), 50 (49), vi. 68 f. And as, in the synoptists, they could make nothing out of many sayings of Jesus, especially

of all that was connected with his death, so too in John. These last opposed too directly the thoughts and hopes which they had formed for themselves from the Old Testament Scriptures. The misunderstandings and the cases of not understanding which the evangelist reports are not arbitrarily invented, but are occasioned naturally by the sphere of thought in which the disciples moved from the first. The Jews do not understand how Jesus can speak of going away, because the Messiah should remain, vii. 35; and just as little can Thomas understand this, xiv. 5; or the disciples understand the words as to seeing Him no more, xvi. 17f.; or Judas Thaddæus comprehend why Jesus will not reveal Himself to the world, xiv. 22; or the disciples understand what Jesus says to them of the time of the Spirit, because the facts of his death and of his resurrection lie between, through which they cannot see their way clearly, vi. 62, vii. 39, xvi. 12. Hence it is not strange that the evangelist repeatedly emphasizes the fact that the disciples only understood certain words and events after the resurrection of Jesus, ii. 21 f., xii. 16, xx. 9. So far from being fiction, this is rather a sign of the historical character of the report. It would not have occurred to a later writer to lay stress on this distinction of the times. To us later Christians, the Christian consciousness is, from the first, decided by the facts of the death and the resurrection of Jesus. To separate the two times and grades of the Christian consciousness is only natural for one who is writing from the recollection of them.

The Jews.

The disciples are the same in the fourth gospel as in the first three; and so are the Jews. It knows as

well as the synoptists do that the Pharisees are the focus of the orthodox opposition to the activity of Jesus in Judæa (i. 24), iv. 1 ; and to the self-witness of Jesus, viii. 13. It knows them to be a hindrance to the open confession for Jesus, xii. 42 ; and to be united with the chief priests, xviii. 3. And it knows the chief priests or the rulers to be the enemies of Jesus, vii. 26, 48, xii. 42. The picture of this opposition, as sketched in the fourth gospel, agrees entirely with the synoptic picture ; see v. 16, vii. 23, ix. 24, 39-41. No less do 'the nation' make the same appearance in the one that they do in the other. The people of Jerusalem oppose Jesus and reject Him, vii. 29 ff. But the nation, especially in Galilee, wavers in its judgment, and is inclined to own Jesus as a prophet, perhaps even as the Messiah, vii. 12, 40, 41, etc., though it clings to the sensible miracles, iv. 48, vi. 30, vii. 3, 31. 'The Jews' appear throughout as unbelieving ; and that agrees with the reality, for on the whole they were unbelieving, and Israel decided against Jesus. Their disinclination to belief is the basis of their failure to understand the words of Jesus ; which want of understanding has been called *overdone*, and therefore *unhistorical*, by the critical party. But do not the people as a whole, in the synoptists too, appear to be incapable of understanding the preaching of Jesus ? All three synoptists report the severe words of Jesus as to the fulfilment of Isa. vi. 9 f., in the closed and hardened condition of the then present generation, Matt. xiii. 11 ff. and parallels. That shows us what recollection of the position of Israel towards the words of Jesus was maintained in tradition. When, therefore, the fourth gospel presents certain misunderstandings, it only agrees with the picture given us by the others. Nor are the separate cases of misunderstanding which the gospel relates so very inconceivable. The words

about the temple, ii. 19, bore two senses, and could by no means be understood at the moment. The disciples, even, did not understand it till later. Nicodemus' objection, iii. 4, is somewhat striking, but it springs from the fact that Nicodemus thinks he must take Jesus' words exactly. The misunderstanding on the part of the Samaritan woman is not so unlikely for her as it would be for us, but matches her method of thought as the story presents it to us. The case is the same with the wish of the Jews, vi. 30 f. When the Jews refer the words about going away, to the Diaspora, vii. 35 f., we must remember that, according to Jewish thoughts, the Messiah was to remain. Their other speech, viii. 22, is sheer wickedness. And finally, why should it not be easy for them, with such an attitude of heart towards Jesus, to see nothing but boastful self-praise in the great words viii. 52, 57? We can find in all this nothing that is impossible or even improbable. The general view agrees with that of the synoptists.

The Form is planned out.

Finally, they take the design shown in the form to be a proof of the free construction of the history. For the inventing mind, say they, can lay plans in this way, but reality does not. I at one time, following Bengel's remark, proved the importance of the number three in John's gospel. Since then, this observation has been followed further, and overdone. Keim counts thus:²⁹—'Jesus three times in Galilee, three times in Judea; twice three feasts, especially three passover feasts; three miracles in Galilee, three in Jerusalem; Jesus moves about near the Baptist twice three days; three days cover the story of Lazarus; six days cover

the death passover; three words on the cross; and three appearances of the Risen One.' But Leuschner³⁰ has already revised and corrected this reckoning of Keim's. The three stays in Galilee may pass, but Jesus was in Judea not simply three times, but much oftener; see ii.-iii., v., vii.-ix., x. 22 ff., xi., etc. It is true that three passover feasts are spoken of, but we find Jesus in Jerusalem only at two, at the beginning and at the end. Of the miracles in Galilee, two are counted expressly, iv. 54. In addition to these come not only the miracle of feeding as a third, but also the sea miracle, vi. 19 ff.; and a great miraculous activity in Galilee is at least mentioned, vi. 2, vii. 3. A like activity at Jerusalem is also spoken of, ii. 23, iii. 2. Besides the miracles of deed, we have the miracle of knowledge, i. 49 (Eng. vers. 48); and the miracle of His body, for that is probably the intention of the account in xix. 34; to say nothing of the resurrection, etc. They cannot say that Jesus moved about in the vicinity of the Baptist twice three days, for on the sixth day he was in Cana, and therefore far enough from the Baptist. No more does the story of Lazarus take in three days, but four, xi. 39. In short, Keim's counting does not agree with the record. It is true that the number three plays a certain part in this gospel. The very first three sentences show that. Yet from them we also see how this number is to be understood. The involuntary rhythm of the thought expresses itself by it. And even where the use of the number goes further, and is conscious and designed, it is no more a proof of want of historical character than the rule of the number seven in Matthew's gospel.³¹ It was easy for a Jewish mind, from the Old Testament down, to think, and to write, and to arrange the material rhythmically. If such planning proves anything, it is only the freedom with which the Scripture historical com-

position treats its material, so as thereby to bring to view certain thoughts and certain knowledge borrowed from that material. Nevertheless the historical material does not thereupon cease to belong to history itself, and become free invention.

We can close this inquiry with the result that the synoptic and Johannean historical accounts do not so exclude each other that the second is thereby referred to fiction. On the contrary, in so far as they do not require, they still are compatible with, each other.

The critical party lays greater weight on the difference in the discourses of Jesus than on the difference in the historical material. It seeks the real decision here. As the discourses are mostly of Christological contents, we take the Christology and the discourses together.

2. THE DISCOURSES AND THE CHRISTOLOGY.

The principle on which they deny John's authorship of the gospel runs thus: If Jesus spoke after the manner of the synoptists, He cannot have spoken after the manner of John's discourses of Jesus; and reversed: He who on every occasion speaks, as to contents and form, in the tone of John's Christ, is an entirely different historical phenomenon from the one which meets us in the synoptic account. Both forms at once cannot be historical. One or the other is. But the synoptic is the more naïve, less designed, more natural, and so more historical, being at the same time the form continued in tradition, as we see it in the following Christian literature. If, then, this representation be on the whole the historical one, John's representation cannot be historical. Therefore the fourth gospel is not apostolic.

This conclusion, in our opinion, is above all wanting in logic. They confound the origin with the contents. Supposing that the premises were correct, the conclusion would only prove that the fourth gospel is not a historical document as to its contents, and not that as to its origin it could not be a historical production from the circle of the apostles. Plato presented his Socrates utterly different from Xenophon, and yet it cannot thence be concluded that the Platonic dialogues were not written by a scholar of Socrates. Why, then, cannot a book, which presents Jesus so differently from the synoptists, still be by a disciple of Jesus? We should in this case only have to ask, if it be conceivable that a disciple of Jesus could make his teacher speak thus. That, however, is not a historical but a psychological question. And this latter, even more than the historical inquiry, has confirmed John's authorship.

It is true that there is a difference between the Platonic and the Johannean question. There we have to do with philosophical representations; here with a historical one. There a scholar puts his own philosophy in his master's mouth; here a disciple of Jesus gives historical testimony to Jesus Christ. Were Keim and others right in saying that the fourth gospel gives a religious philosophy only in a historical dress, the position of the cases would be just the same. Then it would be so much the less a question of historical criticism, but rather of a psychological nature. How could a disciple of Jesus come to form such a religious philosophy, and to use the gospel history merely as a means of presenting it? They cannot declare it from the first to be absolutely impossible. And then it would be a double logical error, because a *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος* ('passing over to another genus'), to wish to decide the historical and critical question from

that. Yet, even if they see in John's gospel not a religious philosophical treatise, but a representation that at least means to be historical, we remain in the sphere of the psychological question. The problem reads thus: If in other respects it stand firm on principles of historical criticism that the fourth gospel was written by a disciple of Jesus, and indeed by John, how could such a one, and especially John, come to make Jesus speak and to present him so entirely different from the other relators, and yet on the whole make Jesus speak and present him with truth to history? We should have to inquire into the psychological possibility of such a difference, and could not from this difference deny those facts of historical criticism, not even if we had to let that problem stay unsolved.

But is the difference really so irreconcilable? Look at the difference between the Socrates of Xenophon and Plato. Not only Schleiermacher, but also Brandis and Ritter have owned²⁸ that the Platonic philosophy and its attachment to Socrates can only be comprehended in case that Socrates had not merely spoken as Xenophon makes him speak, but had also comprised in his teaching deeper elements, which Plato could embrace and develop, so that he received thereby a right to make the figure of Socrates the bearer of his thoughts. We might take up the question before us, too, in the same way. But here the thing is different. In Xenophon's representation as good as no points of contact with Plato's can be found, and in the synoptic presentation, on the contrary, very essential points of contact with John's are given. So let us consider the actual state of the discourses of Jesus in both, as to their form and as to their contents.

Form of the Discourses.

The difference in the form is unmistakeable. In the synoptists the ruling form of the discourse of Jesus is the proverb and the parable, to which is added the prophetic discourse. In John, the discourses of Jesus have a more dramatic character, suiting the dramatic plan of the whole gospel. Dialogue prevails, whether in conversation or in debate; and to this is added the discourse, which is a free pouring out of the heart. The former is a more popular, the latter is a higher form of discourse. But there is no lack of many points of contact. In the synoptists, too, Jesus has hours in which he discourses from the heart, and in a lofty tone, as in John, Matt. xi. 25 ff.; or in which he carries on debates with his opponents, Matt. xii. 25 ff. And in John also we find short striking or paradoxical sayings, such as are so frequent in the synoptists. This is true not only of those of which the evangelist confesses that he and his fellow-disciples did not understand them then as Jesus spoke them, ii. 19 ff., iv. 32 ff., vii. 33 ff., etc.; but also of others which bear the form of the short or paradoxical proverb, iv. 35 ff., 44, v. 17, vi. 27, 62, 63, etc. Only, of course, the form of short paradoxical or enigmatical speech rules in the synoptists, while here it merely at times opens the flow of the discourse, or breaks in upon it by way of a summary.

Further, if the parable be characteristic of the synoptic representation, and especially of Matthew, and is named as characteristic of it, Matt. xiii. 34 f., parabolic words are not wanting in John. It is enough to recall the good shepherd in the tenth chapter, and the vine in the fifteenth, or the figure of the living water in the fourth, and that of the bread in the sixth.

Only, in the synoptists they are parables worked out; and here they are rather but shorter comparisons, taken up into the connection of the rest of the discourse. We see, then, that the elements of the synoptic method of discourse are present here too, but they do not, as in the former, give character to the discourse. The speech of Jesus in the synoptists picks its material from the whole wide sphere of natural and of human life, and the Johannean speech is likewise rich enough in such material. In the former it is more concrete, in the latter more abstract. There it appears in the form of a representation, here it is rather lifted to its idea. The thought in both is the same: The higher real truth (see John's ἀληθινός) is to be proved in the lower form of sensible existence. There it is more in the form of the popular parable; here it is rather a comparison after the manner of a teacher. Both the proverb and the parable have something fixed and solid in their form. In John this crystalline form is dissolved, made fluid, and wrought over. It is as when we repeat something foreign; when we repeat it not in its objective form, but as we have mentally re-wrought and assimilated it.

In the synoptists, the critics proceed to say, Jesus' method of speech is connected, mediating, pedagogical; and here it is immediate, repelling, unpedagogical, from a speculative height which is foreign to the hearers. But the words of Jesus can sound harsh in the synoptists, as in Matt. xii. 46 ff., the speech about his mother and his brethren; and the nearer the end the harsher they are, Matt. xxi. 42 f., xxiii. 13 ff. Nor are connections lacking in John,—as in the talk with Nicodemus, where Jesus at the beginning starts from the baptism of John, and at the close touches upon the conscience; or in the talk with the Samaritan woman, where he starts with his own immediate wants, so as

to lead the woman to another matter. Or Jesus turns himself in rebuke upon the consciences of his opponents, as in chapter viii., just as he does in the synoptic debates ; or his love brings itself down to the weak belief and to the scanty understanding of his disciples, as in chapter xiii. ff., as in the synoptists. So points of contact are not wanting. But the discourses of Jesus in John certainly do have a higher and somewhat less familiar character than those in the synoptists.

This is followed by another point. In contrast with the manifold variety of the synoptic discourses, and shades of speech of Jesus, they find the Johannean discourses of Jesus, as well as of the Baptist, monotonous, ever the same, not determined by the occasion and by the individual circumstances, but coming from one general unvarying background of thoughts. Here, too, we must reduce the observation to its right measure. The fourth gospel is not wanting in variety and in fitness to the given situation. The way that Jesus speaks to the woman at Jacob's well is different from the way in which he speaks to the 'master in Israel,' and notes the new birth and belief on him as a necessary condition for membership in the kingdom of heaven. The words with which Jesus meets his opponents in chapter viii. have an entirely different sharpness from that which is found in the self-witness in chapter v., standing at the beginning of the conflict. The almost sorrowful words about the good shepherd in chapter x., with which the conflict already draws nigh to its end, have still another tone. And, finally, the same may be said for the discourses to the disciples in which the heart of the departing one opens itself. In fact, it cannot be said that the discourses are lacking in difference of shade of colour, or in fitness to the situations. On the other hand, we must certainly

own that all the discourses have a certain similarity. Different as the discourses of Jesus and of the Baptist are, they still have great resemblances in expression. And different as the discourses of Jesus are, they have not the manifold variety of the synoptic discourses. More or less they always come out to one and the same testimony of Jesus about himself, about the necessity and saving character of belief, and about the judgment on unbelief. It is not true that they develop philosophical thoughts. They bear a personal character throughout; they show inward personal emotion; and they make us feel the personal interest of the writer. They carry none of the calmness of a speculating philosopher. Yet, personal as is the interest that rules them, and which they wish to beget, xx. 31, it is nevertheless an interest that moves them. We can own it. They are somewhat monotonous. It is, however, not the monotony of poverty, but of depth of thought; the monotony of the mind which ever gazes at the central point; the monotony of eternity. The synoptists, in the history as well as in the doctrine of Jesus, present the concrete phenomenon in time; John presents the eternity which has appeared in time. The synoptists do not deny, but let it be sufficiently seen, that infinite contents dwell in the concrete phenomenon, but they take their point of view on the side of the phenomenon. John does not deny, but lays emphatic stress upon the fact that 'the eternal life' entered historical actuality and became a phenomenon striking the senses, that 'the Word became flesh;' but he takes his point of view on the side of the infinity which forms the contents of the phenomenon. The phenomenon is the manifold; 'the eternal life' which forms its contents is ever one and the same. Hence the synoptic presentation must bear an utterly different variety from the Johannean. The pheno-

menon connects with what already exists, whether it be things Israelite from the Old Testament, or whether it be things generally human and moral. In the synoptists, therefore, appear the various references of Jesus' teaching to the Old Testament Scriptures, to Israelite circumstances, and to the moral reality and task of human life. But the infinite contents stand over against that variety of the phenomenon as one and the same, unvarying. Hence it is somewhat abstract and unindividual, detached from the historical actuality, and apparently indifferent thereunto. This could not but show itself in the language, which must wear a side of individual variety, as well as a side of general self-repeating monotony. If now, in Jesus of Nazareth, the eternal life appeared in the flesh, so, too, will both sides have found expression in his testimony. The fourth gospel takes up one side, and makes it the standard of its representation. Points of contact and connection between the first three and the fourth are not wanting. When we examine it more closely, they are more frequent than appears at the first glance. Godet³³ and Holtzmann³⁴ give a collection of the points of contact, or of the things borrowed, as Holtzmann takes it. The survey here given follows these two collections. Holtzmann almost always puts the contact with Mark first. Comparison shows that this is often quite arbitrary. Hence the simplest thing will be to enumerate the synoptists in their usual order. As will be seen, the coincidences are of very different worth. We have not wished to exclude even those passages in which, in our opinion, there is really no coincidence, but only an agreement in wording.

JOHN.

Synoptists.

- (1.) ii. 19 : 'Destroy this temple, and in three days,' etc. *Matt. xxvi. 61* : 'This fellow said, I am able to destroy,' etc.
Matt. xxvii. 40 : 'Thou that destroyest the temple,' etc.
Mark xiv. 58 : 'We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands,' etc.
Mark xv. 29 : 'Thou that destroyest the temple,' etc.
- (2.) iv. 44 : 'For Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour,' etc. *Matt. xiii. 57* : 'A prophet is not without honour, save,' etc.
Mark vi. 4. Luke iv. 24.
- (3.) v. 8 : 'Rise, take up thy bed, and walk.' *Matt. ix. 5 f.* : 'For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee ; or to say, Arise and walk ? But that ye may know . . . Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.'
Mark ii. 9. Luke v. 24.
- (4.) vi. 20 : 'But he saith unto them, It is I ; be not afraid.' *Matt. xiv. 27* : 'Be of good cheer ; it is I,' etc.
Mark vi. 50 : 'It is I,' etc.
- (5.) vi. 35 : 'He that cometh to me shall never hunger ; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.' *Matt. v. 6* : 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst . . . for they shall be filled.'
Luke vi. 21.
- (6.) (vi. 37 : 'All that the Father giveth me shall come to me,' etc. *Matt. xi. 28 f.* : 'Come unto me, all ye that labour,' etc.)
- (7.) vi. 46 : 'Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father.' *Matt. xi. 27* : 'Neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.'
Luke x. 21 f.
- (8.) xii. 7 : 'Let her alone : against the day of my burying hath she kept this.' *Matt. xxvi. 12* : 'For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial.'

JOHN.

Synoptists.

ἄφες αὐτήν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν
τοῦ ἰνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό.

Mark xiv. 8: 'She is come
aforehand to anoint my body,'
etc.

(9.) xii. 8: 'For the poor
always ye have with you; but
me,' etc.

Matt. xxvi. 11.
Mark xiv. 7.

(10.) xii. 25: 'He that
loveth his life shall lose it;
and he that hateth,' etc.

Matt. x. 39: 'He that findeth
his life,' etc.

Matt. xvi. 25: 'Whosoever
will save his life,' etc.

Mark viii. 35: 'Whosoever
will save . . . but whosoever
shall lose his life for my sake
and the gospel's,' etc.

Luke ix. 24: 'For whosoever
will save his life,' etc. xvii. 33.

(11.) (xii. 27: 'Now is my
soul troubled,' etc.

Matt. xxvi. 38 f.: 'My soul is
exceeding sorrowful, even unto
death,' etc.

Mark xiv. 34 f.)

(12.) (xiii. 3: 'Jesus know-
ing that the Father had given
all things into his hands.'

Matt. xi. 27: 'All things are
delivered unto me of my
Father.' *Luke* x. 21 f.)

(13.) xiii. 16: 'The servant
is not greater than his Lord;
neither he that is sent,' etc.

Matt. x. 24: 'The disciple is
not above his master,' etc.

Luke vi. 40.

xv. 20: 'Remember
the word that I said,' etc.

(14.) xiii. 20: 'He that
receiveth whomsoever I send
receiveth me; and he that
receiveth me receiveth him
that sent me.'

Matt. x. 40: 'He that re-
ceiveth you receiveth me, and
he that receiveth me receiveth
him that sent me.'

See also *Luke* x. 16: 'He
that heareth you,' etc.

(15.) xiii. 21: 'One of you
shall betray me.'

Matt. xxvi. 21: 'One of you
shall betray me.'

Mark xiv. 18: 'One of you
which eateth with me,' etc.

JOHN.

Synoptists.

- (16.) xiii. 38 : 'The cock shall not crow, till thou,' etc. *Matt. xxvi. 34* : 'That this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt,' etc.
Mark xiv. 30.
Luke xxii. 34.
- (17.) xiv. 18 : 'I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you.' *Matt. xxviii. 20* : 'I am with you alway, unto the end of the world.'
- (18.) (xiv. 28 : 'My Father is greater than I.' *Mark xiii. 32* : 'Knoweth no man . . . neither the Son, but the Father.'))
- (19.) (xiv. 31 : 'Arise, let us go hence.' *Matt. xxvi. 46* : 'Rise, let us be going.')
- (20.) (xv. 20 : 'If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you.' *Matt. x. 25* : 'If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub,' etc.)
- (21.) xv. 21 : 'All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake.' *Matt. x. 22* : 'Ye shall be hated . . . for my name's sake.'
- (22.) xvi. 32 : 'The hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered . . . and shall leave me alone.' *Matt. xxvi. 31* : 'All ye shall be offended because of me this night; for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.'
Mark xiv. 27.
- (23.) xvii. 2 : 'As thou hast given him power over all flesh.' *Matt. xxviii. 18* : 'All power is given unto me,' etc.
- (24.) xviii. 11 : 'Put up thy sword into the sheath.' *Matt. xxvi. 52* : 'Put up again thy sword into his place.'
- (25.) xviii. 11 : 'The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' *Matt. xxvi. 39* : 'O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will,' etc.
Mark xiv. 36. Luke xxii. 42.

JOHN.

Synoptists.

(26.) xviii. 20 : 'I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple.' *Matt. xxvi. 55* : 'I sat daily with you teaching in the temple.'

(27.) xviii. 37 : 'Art thou a king, then ? . . . Thou sayest that I am a king.' *Matt. xxvii. 11* : 'Art thou the king of the Jews ? . . . Thou sayest.'

Mark xv. 2.

Luke xxiii. 3.

(28.) xx. 23 : 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them,' etc. *Matt. xvi. 19* : 'Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'

Matt. xviii. 18 : 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth,' etc.

It is easy to see that the coincidences are of different weight. Sometimes the fourth evangelist expressly refers to words of Jesus which are handed down by the synoptists, as in number 2, (12). In other passages there are coincidences in expression caused by the likeness of the facts, as in 3, 11, and 19. Or the same or a like thought has clothed itself in the same or a like dress, as in 7, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 28. Or the same words of Jesus are given by the two gospel accounts with a small difference in expression, as in 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 22, 24, 26, and 27. In other passages we have but a distant likeness, as in 5, 6, and 20.

We certainly get the impression that the words of Jesus were known and present to the fourth evangelist in the form in which they are handed down by the synoptists. But it is an unjustified conclusion, to infer literary dependence on them because he frequently coincides with them. This conclusion is unnecessary. The words of Jesus were the object of instruction and tradition in the Church, and so were well known by Christians in general, and could have

been familiar to the author of our gospel even though he were not a direct disciple of Jesus. And, again, this dependence in the detailed wording would not agree with the independence both of knowledge and of consciousness that the author elsewhere shows.

Yet, numerous as these coincidences are, it must be owned that they do not determine the peculiarity of the gospel. On the contrary, its peculiarity lies in the emphasizing that particular side of Jesus' teaching which we recognised above, and this peculiarity has made the presentation of that side the characteristic of the whole gospel. If we only had this gospel, we should have no correct picture of the method of Jesus' teaching. We could not put it before ourselves concretely enough, and we should miss its manifold connections with the historical reality. But the fourth gospel presupposes the first three. It sketches the revelation of the eternal life in Jesus into the synoptic picture of the Galilean prophet, starting at the point at which the lines of the synoptic representation lose themselves in the deep background.

This is connected with the difference of the contents of the discourses of Jesus.

Contents of the Discourses.

The passage John viii. 1-11, aside from the scanty manuscript testimony, is no genuine part of John's gospel, as may be seen by the fact that it bears in all its contents a synoptic stamp. This critical judgment has as a presupposition a definite conception of the difference between the evangelical accounts on either side. In the synoptists, questions as to the law form prevailingly the occasion and contents of the debates; in John, it is the person and the self-witness

of Jesus. It is true that Jesus' person is the starting-point for discussions in the former, as, for example, in Matt. xxi. 23 ff. And in John also the relation to the legal regulation of Israel is not merely the starting-point, but even the thread that runs through the whole contrasted relation between Jesus and his opponents; see John ii. 18, v. 16 ff. Yet certainly, in the former, the words of Jesus cling more closely to the definite legal question; while in the latter they free themselves more from it. We see the same thing in the discourses of Jesus which move in the sphere of morals. It is well known to what extent this is the case in the synoptists.³⁵ Indeed, new as well as old rationalism found in this the essence of the 'Christianity of Christ.' Nor are such discourses lacking in John's gospel. See where Jesus urges the doing of the will of God, vii. 17; or the doing of the truth, iii. 20; or the relation of love, xiii. 34, and the like. All, however, is here of a more general kind, and stands in close connection with the Christological matter which makes up the real contents of the fourth gospel.

Christology.

The last decision lies in this Christological material. The true theme of the fourth gospel is the great word: *I am He*. 'If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins,' viii. 24. That is the tone which runs through the whole gospel. Not merely does the eighth chapter begin and end with *ἐγώ εἰμι* ('I am,' viii. 12, 58), but also this great and self-conscious *ἐγώ* is characteristic of the whole gospel. All rests on Him, all is concluded in Him. What the world needs, what helps men, what decides about them, etc., that He is. He is the life and the light. He is the Christ and the

contents of the Old Testament revelation, hope, and Scripture, v. 39, viii. 56. He is the salvation of the new period. He is the way, the truth, and the life. In short, He is one and all, and is absolutely decisive. Thus Jesus speaks of Himself in the fourth gospel. It seems to be different in the first three. Here He makes moral demands, here He calls for a change of mind, here He talks of the kingdom of God and its future. It is true, all stands in connection with Him, and still the synoptic discourses of Jesus move rather in this wider circumferential range. For that very reason they are somewhat more manifold, richer in colour, and more indirect. And yet here, too, He is the centre of the discourse, in which all the lines of His doctrine run together. Moreover, the person of Jesus comes forward in his words much oftener than appears at the first impression. The 'I,' both as to number and as to importance, plays in the synoptic discourses of Jesus a role quite like the one it plays in John.

If any discourse be characteristic of the synoptic presentation, and different from the Johannean discourses, it is the sermon on the mount. And nevertheless that self-conscious 'I' runs through this. Its presupposition is discipleship to Jesus, that is, belief in and union to His person, *δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου* ('follow me'), Matt. iv. 19. And the relation to Him is its base and is the aim of all its exhortations. Blessed are they who are persecuted for His sake, *ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ*, v. 11. He puts His word *ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν* ('but I say unto you') over against both Pharisaic misinterpretation and the wording of the Old Testament itself, v. 22, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44. The characteristic *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν* ('Verily I say unto you') shows that it is not the truth of His words that lends importance and certainty to His person, but that it is the authority

of His person that lends importance and certainty to His words, vi. 2, 5. Whether He owns us or not, *οὐκ ἔγνω ὑμᾶς* ('I never knew you') is decisive for our future lot. And for His owning us, the decisive thing is, whether we have owned Him in the right way or not, vii. 21 ff. It is He who passes the last decision, according as He owns or does not own a man, vii. 21-23. He puts His word (*μου τοὺς λόγους*, 'these sayings of mine') as the foundation, whereon the building of the life for eternity must base itself, vii. 24 ff.

In the discourse at the sending of the twelve, Matt. x., the case is the same. Not receiving His disciples incurs a heavier judgment than struck Sodom and Gomorrah, x. 15: 'Behold, I send you,' etc., x. 16. They should suffer persecution for Him (*ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ*, 'for my sake'), x. 18; but they should comfort themselves in the help of the Spirit of God, Luke xxi. 15, 'I will give you a mouth and wisdom.' They shall be hated of all men for His name's sake, Matt. x. 22; but His coming puts an end to that, x. 23. Whosoever owns Him before men, him will He also own before His heavenly Father, x. 32; whosoever denies Him, him will He also deny, x. 33. They must love Him more than father and mother, etc., x. 37. To lose one's life for His sake is to gain it, x. 39. To receive Him in His disciples is to receive the Father, x. 40. In short, He is one and all; the relation to Him decides. And so it goes through the rest of the gospel. Blessed is he who is not offended in Him, xi. 6. His forerunner, the Baptist, is the forerunner of the one promised; He is the fulfilment of the promise, xi. 10 ff. The least in His kingdom is greater than the greatest prophet of the old covenant, xi. 11. To have received His testimony in vain is fatal, xi. 20 ff. All is given over to Him by God; to the world He is a

divine mystery; He is the refreshment of all troubled ones; and His yoke is the rest of souls, xi. 27 ff.⁸⁶ To receive a child in His name is to receive Him, xviii. 5. Believing on Him gives the highest dignity, xviii. 6.⁸⁶ To be gathered in His name has the pledge of His presence, xviii. 20. To leave all for His name's sake is to gain all, xix. 29. He sits upon the throne of the kingdom of the future, and to sit at His side is the highest honour of the future, xx. 23. He is the help of the suffering, xx. 30. He is the King of the daughter of Zion and of the praise of Israel, xxi. 4 ff. The problem of His person is the key to the Old Testament, xxii. 42 ff. He pronounces woe unto the heads of Israel, xxiii. 13 ff. His messengers are the divine messengers, whom Israel rejects, xxiii. 34. Thus, too, He pronounces the judgment on Israel, xxiv., xxv., and He will hold the final judgment over all nations, xxv. 31 ff. The last and highest decision lies in His hand and is connected with Him; for the way that any one is related to Him in His own people is decisive, xxv. 40, 45. Who He is was the decisive question, and was His decisive confession before the Sanhedrim, xxvi. 63 ff. The New Testament passover is His passover. He is the gift thereof, and it is celebrated in memory of Him, xxvi. 20 ff. (Luke xxii. 19). Baptism is to make the hosts of the nations His disciples, and gather them in His kingdom, xxviii. 18 f. And His presence is the comforting assurance of the Church for all times, xxviii. 20.

Thus we see that in Matthew's gospel, and it is the same in the other synoptists, the *ἐγώ εἰμι* ('I am He') runs through from beginning to end, not only in that general bearing of John's gospel, but in more manifold application, and in the most various concrete relations. Yet that general *ἐγώ εἰμι*, which the author of the fourth gospel takes as the essential substance of the

historical reality and makes his theme, lies at the base of this concrete variety.

Jesus, however, in the synoptists as well as in John, does not merely put his person in the middle point of his preaching. He attributes to it in the former and in the latter an absolute importance. And although in the two representations this absolute importance turns towards different sides, nevertheless, these two sides not only agree with, but even demand each other.

In the synoptic self-witness of Jesus, or witness to Him, He appears, in relation to the Old Testament age, church, and scriptures, as their aim. He is the longing of the pious in Israel, and the fulfilment of their longing, Matt. xiii. 16 f.; Luke x. 23 f. He is David's son, and at the same time David's Lord—the higher aim of the history of David's house, Matt. xxii. 41 ff. We have here more than Jonah and more than Solomon, Matt. xii. 41, 42. He is more than the temple and more than the Sabbath, Matt. xii. 6, 8. He is the Bridegroom, the Lord of the Church, Matt. ix. 15, xxii. 2. That which held good for Jehovah in the Old Testament in his relation to the Church of God, that is true of Him in the New Testament. He is the fulfilment of the Old Testament, and He brings the Old Testament Scriptures to their fulfilment, Matt. v. 17.

His relation to humanity is just as absolute. He is the Son of Man—not merely the goal of the history of the house of David, but also the goal of the history of humanity. He is the goal of the separate men; they shall find rest for their souls in Him, Matt. xi. 28 f. He is the Lord of the field, which is the world, Matt. xiii. 24 ff., 36 ff. He assumes an absolute relation to the world, Matt. xi. 27. Hence also His disciples are the salt and light not only of Israel, but also of the world, Matt. v. 13 f.

But this absolute relation to the world rests on His absolute relation to God, Matt. xi. 27. To the world He is, like God, an unknown mystery; He belongs to the mystery of God; He and the Father know each other, but to the world both are alike concealed. This hidden background of his being, and of his relation to God, forms the presupposition of his absolute relation to the world, which stands in the foreground of his self-witness. The synoptists chose for their theme this foreground view of his self-witness concerning his relation to the world. Yet they hint at that hidden background which is the essential and logical presupposition thereof, though they do not develop it, seeing that it formed a higher stage of instruction, and demanded a higher grade of knowledge. When John depicts Jesus as the life, as the light, as the word, that is, as the direct revelation of God, as the presence of God, and as the possessor of the absolute communion with God, all is that inward relation to God which formed the presupposition for His absolute relation to the world and to the Old Testament, and for His corresponding self-witness. Nevertheless, he hints sufficiently at this latter thought; he takes his point of view on the side of the former.

These are two sides which mutually require each other. For Jesus would not assume that absolute relation to the world, which the synoptists depict and witness to, if He did not stand in the relation to God which John shows to us. The former demands the latter as a presupposition; the latter has the former in its train. Each points to the other; one stands in the foreground of Jesus' self-witness, the other forms the background thereof. Naturally enough this background was constantly present for the eyes that pierced deeper, but it only came forward

expressly at certain times. In the same way, we have the highest and deepest parts of our belief and confession of Jesus constantly in heart and thought, and show them in our discourse concerning Him to those who have the disposition and understanding for them; and yet we only now and then make them the object of express testimony. In the report of the discourses of Jesus, John and the synoptists stand to each other as in the historical representation. John did not, like the synoptists, choose as the theme of his historical representation the whole variety of the life and work of Jesus as it came to view for the eyes, but the inner essence and the substance of the history, which forms the hidden presupposition of the separate events, as we saw most characteristically in baptism and in the Lord's supper. Just thus are they related to each other in their account of Jesus' self-witness. They represent its two sides.

It is true that this principle presupposes that the self-witness of Jesus had these two sides, that is, that two sides were united in Jesus' person itself, one belonging to time, and one belonging to eternity. But according to the representation of the synoptists too, both sides were united in Him. For although they move in their representation upon the floor of time, and put Jesus' person so in the centre thereof that the lines go out from Him towards the most different sides, nevertheless, their last thoughts go far beyond the limits of the temporal and the finite. They do not follow the line further into the field of eternity, yet it loses itself therein. It disappears in the divine mystery. Hence they hint, indeed, at the absolute relation to God, but they do not enter into it further, and so have no witness concerning a pre-existence of Jesus. John, on the contrary, establishes the line in this eternal and absolute relation to God, and draws

the line thence down into time, yet without following it further here, where it is lost for him in the generality of the representation. Hence he has, indeed, the declaration of the pre-existence, but he relates neither the birth, nor the baptism, nor the temptation, nor the prophetic work in Galilee. He hints at all this; he presupposes all this. He does not deny this synoptic picture of Christ, but confirms it and owns it, and yet he sketches eternity into this picture of time. For that is the chief thing for him; that is for him the substantial side of the history of Jesus.

Monotony.

In this peculiarity of conception and presentation lies what they call the monotony of the fourth gospel, its lack of all historical development, and the like. 'The Christ, who is complete from the beginning,' 'is, as to this idea, both in the history and in the pen of the most endowed author, an immovable, dead, monotonous figure, which, in spite of all processes, is at the beginning already at the end, and is only artistically preserved until the end by climaxes or by new scenery.'³⁷ Even Wittichen thinks³⁸ thus: 'The synoptists present to us the picture of a personality which develops itself inwardly, rises by struggles to the highest pitch of religious fervour and clearness, and hence shows a rich variety of mood. In the fourth gospel, on the other hand, Christ is, from the beginning on, an absolutely complete personality, and there is a progress only in the outward historical life.' But we fear that they constructed a 'development' from certain psychological presuppositions, which they then rather dragged into than drew from the representation of the synoptists. What we saw above concerning the Mes-

sianic consciousness of Jesus, holds also for the consciousness of His future. The first thirty years of the life of Jesus are probably a time of development, only we do not know much about this development. But after the baptism and the temptation, the development of Jesus is finished, and the time of work follows the time of growth. After He had broken with the fleshly Messiahship once for all in the temptation, His future was as good as decided. He knew that He would have to carry his work through in contradiction with the ruling spirit of the time; and He must have been poorly acquainted with the Old Testament history of salvation not to have said to Himself that this was nothing else than treading the path of martyrdom. Matthew puts the sermon on the mount at the front of the preaching of Jesus. Yet in this, Jesus places before his disciples' view no other future than the communion of suffering, as the prophets had experienced it, Matt. v. 12. It is unquestionably clear from this how Jesus thought concerning His own future. It is the same in the discourse instructing the twelve; He names hatred, persecution, and death as their lot, Matt. x. 17 f., 22, 25, 28. Can we, then, be in any doubt as to Jesus' consciousness of His own future? The reason that He makes the sufferings that await Him an object of express instruction to his disciples only at a later date, is not that the certainty of this suffering future had only gradually arisen in Him, but simply that the disciples could not bear it before. Thus the signs of a development of consciousness, which some find in the synoptic accounts, are rather fiction than truth. On the other hand, variety of mood is not wanting in John, though even Wittichen misses it. The eleventh and twelfth chapters are enough to prove this,—the inward emotion of Jesus before the raising of Lazarus, and at the thought of His own death.

The difference, therefore, is not so great as it is commonly made out to be. But thus much is correct: The self-presentation and the self-witness of John's Christ are from the beginning much more even, and move more on the same level, than in the synoptists. But if, as we have seen, the object that this gospel lifts from the historical and temporal appearance, and portrays for us, be the eternal contents of the person of Jesus Christ, it lies in the nature of the thing that this eternal side is one that remains like to itself; that is to say, monotonous, if they will. But it is the monotony of infinity, which is riches in seeming poverty of thought, and constancy under variety of appearance. Thus did John understand and embrace Christ, and thus he puts Him before us. This is the so-called subjectivity of the fourth gospel.

3. SUBJECTIVITY OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

'Look more closely. The book is not only very one-sided, but it is also to a high degree subjective, that is, historically arbitrary.' So says Keim.²⁰ All that have busied themselves deeply with the fourth gospel acknowledge that it is to a high degree subjective; but it is a misuse of speech to translate this into 'historically arbitrary.' A historical representation can be in a high degree objective, and yet not hit the real central point of the history, and so in a higher sense be untrue. And a historical representation can handle the external facts and words with great freedom, and yet bring the real soul of the history to the fullest and truest representation. Is an object historically arbitrary because it is given not photographically, but just as it entered the spectator's subjectivity, and mirrored itself therein? It would only be so

when the real thought-picture thrust itself in the stead of the actual mirror-picture of the object. It is true that if eternity did not enter into time, and transcendency into this world, in Jesus, then a representation of Jesus Christ which has this for its theme is 'historically arbitrary.' If, however, that was the case, then such a representation is true in the highest sense; for it picks out the gist of the history, and puts the events of external reality in the background, just in order to bring the former to full view. The decision lies, therefore, in the question whether or not that was the case with Jesus. The subjectivity of the representation is no proof against it. The subjective representation may be true. When, then, the first three gospels give us a glance at an infinite background, and when it is on other grounds certain that the fourth gospel springs from a disciple of Jesus, we must not reason from the subjectivity against the historical certainty, but reason from the latter for the subjectivity, and conclude that it corresponds to the reality.

Keim is perfectly correct in saying that 'the aim is not a historical one, but the means are historical.' Of course. But the same is more or less the case in all the gospels. They are not biographies, or the like, but gospels; that is, proclamations of salvation. It is only important that the relation of means and aim be not an arbitrary one, but one suiting the matter—that the unhistorical aim be the one immanent in the historical means. When Hilgenfeld thinks that the historical is sunk in the doctrinal,⁴⁰ we can readily own it, rightly understood. What they call doctrinal is just the soul of the history, which shines out everywhere from the body of the history. It is true that this is not possible without a certain freedom in the handling of the historical materials, and, indeed, a

greater freedom than we permit to ourselves and to others. But in antiquity in general, and on Biblical ground in particular, they stood towards the historical material in a manner different from ours.

It is more or less the case with all writers, that they 'make the historical material the bearer of their ideas, and make it serve the practical needs and interests of the present;' and in particular, the Hebrew writing of history is never purely objective, but has a prophetic element, putting the history in the light of the practical religious idea, so as thereby to produce an ethical effect upon the reader.⁴¹ The purpose even of a Thucydides or a Livy, and much more of a Biblical writer, is not merely historical, but also didactic. The historical material is subordinated to a definite point of view, and determined thereby in its choice and representation. It is alone important, whether the point of view be taken from the history itself, or only dragged into it. If it be taken from the history itself, it was the standing in the heart of the subject, the inward union with the subject, which made the writer free towards the outward material. That gave him a good conscience in handling his material freely, to a degree that we should probably not allow to ourselves. Diestel⁴² presses this especially in the case of the writer of Chronicles. Entirely agreeing with this method of the Old Testament historical writing, Grau⁴³ has named and proved this as the prophetic character of John's gospel in particular.

If there were different elements in the discourses of Jesus, if the eternal and infinite background of his being came to expression in them,—and we have seen that this was the case,—and if Jesus was such a one as He was in Christendom from the beginning believed to be, this must also be expressed. And thus John lifted up and generalized this central point of the

essence of Jesus' history and self-witness. For we are certainly not to think of it as if the Johannean self-witness of Jesus had been the whole or the only method of Jesus. Had we only John's gospel, we should be forced to think that Jesus commonly spoke and taught as He here speaks. That would certainly not give us a picture of Jesus' manner clothed in external reality. But the fourth gospel is not meant thus. It presupposes the first three, and only wishes to be understood under this presupposition; and a picture of Jesus is to be gained from it only in union with them. The author of the fourth gospel certainly proceeds with great independence of the first three, in a grand way not troubling himself about the apparent or real want of harmony with the accounts of the first three which arises from this method. But this he did just because he was not a later forger, who found himself to be chained to the form of synoptic tradition, which was already settled. Since the harmony of the picture of Jesus stood before him in the vision of his soul, he was sure that the variety of the representations would also unite in a harmonious picture for his readers. With confidence in this, he picked out from the being and life of Jesus the point which was to him the essential one, and carried this exclusively through the history and preaching of Jesus. It is true that this gives a 'one-sided' picture, if you like; but it does not mean to be a picture from all sides. Our habit in regard to historical representation leads us astray, makes us misunderstand what is given, and makes us hold as arbitrariness the freedom with which the whole relation is ruled by that fundamental thought. Such a free handling of given historical material is certainly strange to us. We have a different idea of historical faithfulness to external facts than the Biblical authors, and, above all, the author of our book. To

them and to him the chief point is, not the facts as such, but the subject. He does not copy the external historical reality, but, on the ground of the impression made on him by the person and the history of Jesus, he gives the picture as he received it inwardly, and as it has formed itself within him in the course of a long life, and become his most intimate mental property. He knows that in this he represents the highest truth of Jesus. It is no self-made picture he presents. The thoughts he brings forward are not philosophical thoughts, either self-invented or borrowed from some one else. He simply reproduces what he experienced, lived through, and received, a score or so of years before. And if he brings into view rather an idea than the external history, it is just the idea of the history itself, and not a notion of his own. Of course, only one who is sure of his case, who has really learned Jesus Christ, and has beheld Him, the historically appearing person, in his heart and in the secret of his existence, and has himself lived upon this experience—only such a one could dare to do this. But he is the freer towards the external history the more he feels himself inwardly bound and conditioned in all his thought by the historical experience.

To be sure, such a freedom towards the external actual reality demanded a long interval of time between the experience and the reproduction. The experience must first be profoundly wrought over, and pass into the life of the mind, so that the accidental in the outward history stand back, and the spirit of the history itself become free. But the fourth gospel is also the latest; and that process was the real process through which the Christian recollection passed. It is always remarkable to us that so few detailed reminiscences of the external life of Jesus have been preserved, although the disciples were day

and night with their Master, and although the account of Him formed the very material of Christian instruction. Our historical interest would have gathered and kept a multitude of separate features. We find nothing of this in the Christian Church. Not to mention external, local, biographical, and other reminiscences and relics, even the gleaning of Jesus' single sayings in tradition is exceedingly meagre. Even Papias must have found little to gather and tell about, otherwise more of these contents of his book would have been preserved in the centuries in which men had and read it. Hence we see that, for the early Christian church, this external historical interest stood entirely in the background, in comparison with the interest in the saving contents and the saving importance of the person and history of Jesus. John is not the only one to say this, xx. 31. Justin Martyr⁴⁴ closes his dialogue with similar words. In the whole dialogue the historical side retires fully behind the so-called doctrinal side, and Justin does not consider it at all necessary to sketch 'a life-picture' of Jesus for the unbelieving Jew. But we only need compare the Pauline epistles, or the Petrine discourses and epistles, or look at the epistle to the Hebrews or the letters of Barnabas or Clement, to convince ourselves that the whole interest in the person of Jesus is directed singly and alone to prove Him to be, and to preach Him as, the Son of God witnessed to in the Old Testament, John v. 39. The synoptic sayings of the Lord are cited here and there,⁴⁵ so as to base special Christian moral commands on the single events of gospel history. Yet, except in so far as they connect with the birth, baptism, death, and resurrection, great stress seems to have been laid on them by the Church only from the time of Irenæus. And this observation as to the recession of the single historical events of the life of

Jesus in the consciousness of the earliest churches is confirmed also, as far as we can judge, by a glance at apocryphal gospel literature of the Church. It appears that the formation of legends about the life of Christ by the Church began only at the turn of the second and third centuries. This literature, moreover, is a measure for the interest they took in the detailed events.

This interest awoke first in the heretical Gnostic parties, a circumstance which is explained by the position these parties held towards the history of salvation, and especially towards the Old Testament. That is to say, they were forced to seize New Testament stories, to grasp at occurrences in the life of Jesus, in order to be able to oppose something to the typological arguments of the Church, taken chiefly from the Old Testament. Even for them, however, these are of value only in so far as they can be used as allegories for their own doctrinal views. The anti-Gnostic work of Irenæus offers a rich abundance of proofs for such speculative theological interpretations of the history of Jesus. Consequently the Gnostics, in spite of their thorough appeal to the single stories of Jesus' life, were not a whit more 'historical' than the Church and its teachers.

This, which is true of the consciousness of the early church in general, namely, that it clung less to the external course than to the internal meaning of the gospel history, is true of John's gospel in a particular sense. Hence, if all the gospels have a subjective side, this is the most subjective. In itself this is no reproach, and no proof of a want of historical character; on the contrary, it may be the expression of the highest internal truth. It is only important to know whether or not the subjective impression which the evangelist reproduces corresponds to the historical reality as we

know it from other sources, and whether or not the psychological and historical possibility of such a picture of Christ as is here given can be proved for a disciple of Jesus. That question is to be answered by means of a comparison with the synoptic picture of Christ. And we saw that, different as that is from John's picture, it nevertheless contains the germs of the latter. We must, however, acknowledge, that in John we are indeed to refer the contents, but not the form, of the discourses to Jesus Himself. Hence we have a right to use those discourses dogmatically, in order to assure ourselves of the self-consciousness and of the self-testimony of Jesus in their full extent; but we are not likewise justified to use them without ceremony when we wish to sketch a picture of the historical method in which Jesus, with an ordinary historical purpose, taught.⁴⁶ The other question, about the psychological and historical possibility, will perhaps admit of an answer by a comparison with the Revelation and with the other books of the New Testament.

¹ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. pp. 156, 118 ff.

² Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1869, (1, 2, 4 Hefte) pp. 62-84, 155-178, 446-456.

³ *Ibid.* p. 155 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 64.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 450.

⁶ Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847, p. 247 f.

⁷ For example, Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 1862, p. 181; and Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis*, Basel, 1866, p. 10 ff.

⁸ Weizsäcker, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1859, p. 698.

⁹ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 125.

¹⁰ Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1869, p. 156 f.

¹¹ See Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 1862, p. 180.

¹² Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847, p. 127.

- ¹⁸ Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 249.
- ¹⁴ Strauss, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1863, p. 84 ff.
- ¹⁵ Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 1862, p. 181.
- ¹⁶ Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 43; and Strauss too, *Leben Jesu*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 247 f.
- ¹⁷ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 130.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 130. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 119. ²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 117, 131.
- ²¹ Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 325.
- ²² Keim, *ut supra*, p. 132. ²³ *Ibid.* p. 131. ²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 117.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 129. ²⁶ *Ibid.* vol. iii. (1872) p. 476.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 478 f.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 476, and note 2 thereon.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 115 f.
- ³⁰ Leuschner, *Das Evangelium St. Johannis und seine neuesten Widersacher*, Halle, 1873, p. 10.
- ³¹ See my programme *De Compositione Evangelii Matthæi*, Pentecost Programme, Leipzig, 1861.
- ³² Schleiermacher, *Werke*, 3ter Theil; *Zur Philosophie*, vol. ii. Berlin, 1838, p. 287 ff.; Brandis, *Handbuch der Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Philosophie*, 2ter Theil, 1 Abth., Berlin, 1844, p. 22; and *Geschichte der Entwicklungen der griechischen Philosophie*, Berlin, 1862, vol. i. p. 230 ff.; Ritter, H., *Geschichte der Philosophie*, 2ter Theil, 2d edit. Hamburg, 1837, p. 46 f.
- ³³ Godet, *Commentar zu dem Evangelium Johannis*; German translation by Wunderlich, Hanover, 1869, p. 659 f.
- ³⁴ Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1869, p. 174.
- ³⁵ [Namely, that the synoptists follow the law, rather than the person of Christ, in their discussions.—C.R.G.]
- ^{35a} Insert here: Men are distinguished as for or against Him, xii. 30. The decisive question is, who He is, xvi. 13 ff.
- ³⁶ [Namely, if an offence against a believer be so great, the believer must be of high dignity.—C.R.G.]
- ³⁷ Keim, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 117.
- ³⁸ Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld, 1868, p. 52.
- ³⁹ Keim, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 122.
- ⁴⁰ Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 348.
- ⁴¹ Wittichen, *ut supra*, p. 97.
- ⁴² Diestel, *Die hebräische Geschichtschreibung; Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 365–385, especially p. 382.

⁴³ Grau, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Neutestamentlichen Schriftthums*, Gütersloh, 1871, vol. ii. p. 459 ff.

⁴⁴ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 142; *Opera*, edit. Otto, Jena, vol. ii. (1843) p. 462 (371 B-E).

⁴⁵ Acts xx. 35; Rom. xii. 9-21; 1 Cor. iv. 12, 13, vii. 10; more frequently in James and Peter; 1 Clementis *ad Corinthios*, cap. xlvi., *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, 2d edit. Dressel, Leipzig, 1863, p. 92; Barnabas, cap. iv., *Ibid.* pp. lxv. and 6; cap. v. p. 8; cap. vii. pp. lxviii. and 16; cap. xix. pp. lxxvii. and 42.

⁴⁶ [The author, in the last few pages, seems to yield too much in regard to the freedom with which St. John uses the historical material. Fair reason, recognising the more external and popular character both of the contents and of the method of preservation of the contents of the synoptists, and finding in the fourth gospel not only more intimate and scholastic contents, but also a more individual method of preservation of those contents, will acknowledge that this individual method of preservation, exercised by one in most intimate communion with Jesus, is far more likely to give us a true view of the manner and words of the Teacher than general church tradition is, even though gathered by a disciple.—C.R.G.]

CHAPTER X.

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL AND THE REVELATION.

IT is a well-known axiom of the later theology, that John's gospel and the Revelation differ too much, not only in language, but also in doctrinal contents and in their whole manner of thought, to be traced to one and the same author. Consequently, either the Revelation is from the apostle John, and the gospel not, or the gospel is from him and the Revelation not. Baur and his school hold to the former, while Schleiermacher's school and many other positive theologians hold to the latter. Lately, a third view has asserted itself, which is represented by Keim and Scholten, and which denies both books to the apostle. Very few dare attribute both to him.

The question as to the relation of the gospel to the Revelation could only be of decisive importance for the question as to the apostolic composition of the gospel in case John's authorship of the Revelation were settled, or at least were more sure than his authorship of the gospel. That, however, is not the case. The oldest witness for the Johannean composition of the Revelation is, as is well known, Justin, in his dialogue. But the same Justin cites the known passage as to the new birth from the gospel. To be sure, he does not mention John's name here, but the gospel existed under no other name. Papias lived in the visions of the Revelation; and though we do not know by an express testimony from him, nevertheless he witnesses

to the first epistle of John, and that, as we saw, is also a testimony for the gospel. Therefore the confirmation of the Revelation cannot be said to be stronger than that of the gospel. If the latter can be called in question, so can the former; if both be questioned or denied, as by Keim and others, no argument against the gospel can be drawn from the Revelation. If the two show themselves to be irreconcilable, the decision as to which of the two books is to be attributed to the apostle must be found in other considerations than in their irreconcilability. This must be kept in view when a comparison between the books is instituted. Even if this comparison should result in the irreconcilability of the two books, that proves nothing against the gospel. It can just as well be a witness against the Revelation. So we may enter on this comparison with a calm mind.

We can infer that, in spite of their difference, there must be a striking relationship between the two books, for Tübingen criticism named the gospel 'the transfigured Revelation.' Hence the Revelation not merely belongs, 'like so many other New Testament books, to the literary presuppositions of the gospel,'¹ but there must also be peculiar connections to join the books to each other.

It must be admitted that the difference in language, as well on the grammatical and stylistical as on the lexical side, is striking to a high degree. Ebrard² has instituted very noteworthy discussions for the fixing and just appreciation of the facts of the case, and his work goes to lessen considerably the importance of the linguistic difference. Most of the differences of language are explained by the difference of the subject with which the gospel and the Revelation deal, by the different disposition of mind in which the two are written, and, finally, by the utterly

different genus of discourse determined by these two things.

Grammar.

As for grammar, the gospel is written in correct, the Revelation in incorrect Greek. But incorrectness is not a direct proof of ignorance or want of practice. It is rather a result of the sovereign freedom with which the writer of the Revelation uses language. For example, when he writes, i. 4, ἀπὸ ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος, he naturally knows very well that ἀπό governs the accusative, and that ἦν is no participle. Or when he fails to add on the appositions in the corresponding cases, as i. 5, ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, and similarly in ii. 20 and xx. 2, or in the corresponding gender, as ix. 13 f., φωνήν μίαν . . . λέγοντα, the appropriate rules are naturally not unknown to him, for he uses them elsewhere. He does not trouble himself about them. The mistakes are not mistakes of ignorance, but are designed emancipations from the laws of grammar. They are hardnesses of speech, chosen so as to give the language the character of the ancient hard speech of the prophets, as the subject occasions.

Lexical Peculiarities.

The same is the case with the lexical peculiarities. They too are conditioned by the subject. The Revelation lacks the Greek particles, which the gospel has at least to a higher degree. The language is said to wear not a Greek but a Hebrew character, and so does without those mediations of thought which characterize the Greek mind. The expressions peculiar

to the gospel, such as *ζωή*, *φῶς*, and *ἀλήθεια* ('life,' 'light,' and 'truth'), are wanting here. For while the gospel speaks in ideal categories, the language of the Revelation moves in visions and pictures, corresponding to the method of the Hebrew, and, above all, of prophetic discourse. To this must be added the entire difference of the whole mental disposition in the two books. The characteristic of the gospel is a calm, devoted reproduction of great recollections that have become the property of the inward life. The characteristic of the Revelation is an excitement and elevation of disposition, called forth by the great and agitating pictures of the future. The former is written with constant reference to the reader; the latter is written without such reference, and is only determined by the object. We can, however, oppose these differences with not a few agreements. Ebrard³ has noted a list of such linguistic peculiarities as are common to both books. We name, by way of example, the use of *ποιεῖν* in *ποιεῖν ψεῦδος*, and *ἀλήθειαν, γνώμην, and ἐπιθυμίαν* ('to make a lie,' 'to do truth,' 'to fulfil will,' 'to do lusts'), in the gospel, iii. 21, viii. 44, and the Revelation, xxii. 15, xvii. 17. Nevertheless, the case does not rest so much on such details of the use of words as on the difference of the whole colour of the language. This remains in spite of the linguistic coincidences in details. But this colour of speech in the Revelation is evidently chosen. The author was not accustomed to speak and to write thus, for men do not speak and write so for common things. The language of the writer of the Revelation is not a natural but an artificial form, conditioned less by the individuality of the writer than by the material, and by the apocalyptic genus of his prophetic discourse. He could speak and write otherwise.

If, on the one hand, the Revelation be written in

what is more unlike Greek, and is more incorrect than its author could speak and write, it may, on the other hand, be asked whether the gospel be not too good Greek to be ascribed to a born Jew, and that a native of Palestine. We have already seen above, and elsewhere proved, that the genuine Greek way of speaking and writing does not rule here. The method of discourse is not the Greek periodological, but the Hebrew paratactical. Besides, it is pretty well agreed that the style of the gospel betrays the born Jew, and, indeed, one who had not been educated as a Greek. A Josephus knew how to write different Greek from the author of this book. Its Greek does not go beyond the limits of what was possible to a John. For if the author of the epistle of James, who lived not in the Diaspora, but in Palestine, could write such Greek as his epistle shows,⁴ why should not John, after living about twenty years in Greek surroundings, be able to write such Greek as his gospel shows? And would not this be especially likely if he set himself the task of bringing the contents of the gospel near to the Greek way of thought, and therefore, as far as possible, of clothing it in a Greek manner of speech?

Thus, then, the linguistic gulf between gospel and Revelation is not impassable. Nor does the decision depend upon this.

Doctrine.

The question as to the mutual relation of the doctrinal contents and of the whole manner of thought of the two books is of more importance. But in this very point the later researches of Gebhardt⁵ serve to reduce to more moderate proportions the

common representations as to the irreconcilable difference of the two books.

The following five points are chiefly to be taken into view : The representation of God, the great contrasts, the Christology, the relation to Judaism, and the eschatology.

1. *The Being of God.*

In the gospel, the being of God, as He has revealed Himself in Christ, is represented above all as life, light, and love. These are the three great Johannean fundamental words and fundamental thoughts when the knowledge of God is in question. It is not so current in the Revelation to designate God in this way. Yet it has the same thing, only, as a rule, merely in the form of figurative representation, which the whole plan of the Revelation requires.

The gospel calls God the life or the living one and God is repeatedly called the living one in the Revelation, iv. 9, 10, vii. 2, x. 6, xv. 7. This betokens the essence of God. Or He is called God, who is, and who was, and who is to come, i. 4, 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5 ; or the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end, i. 8, xxi. 6, xxii. 13. This says the same thing. God is the conditioning ground and the ruling might of all being and doing, namely, He is life. Hence, also, He is the almighty, i. 8, the strong, etc.

What the gospel says of God, when it calls his essence and his revelation in Christ light, is the same that the visions of the Revelation say of the heavenly form of God and of the heavenly world. God is compared to a brilliant precious stone ; those about Him are clothed in white, and before God is the likeness of

crystal, iv. 3 ff. The throne of God is white, xx. 11, and the city of God has the lustrous glory of God, xxi. 11, so that it does not need the sun and the moon, for the glory of God lighteth it, and the nations walk in this light, xxi. 23, 24, xxii. 5. Considering the relationship in which holiness and light and holiness and glory stand to each other, it is not an essentially different thing when God is praised or named as the Holy One, iv. 8, vi. 10.

As for love, the Revelation, to be sure, speaks more of the anger and wrath of God, so that we might name the punishing justice of God the most prominent divine attribute in the Revelation.⁶ But this is comprehensible enough. The book depicts the final judgment of God on the world that is opposed to God. So the requiting and punishing justice of God must come to the foreground of the picture. Still, in the background thereof, we see the loving-kindness of God towards his own displayed in manifold acts. While the world goes to meet the judgment, they are kept, vii. 2 ff. While the former is condemned, they are freed in salvation with God, vii. 9 ff., where no hunger and thirst and no pain strikes them, and where the Lamb Himself shall feed, lead, and refresh them, and wipe all tears from their eyes, vii. 16 f. The goal, however, is the completed communion with God, xxi. 3 f., the dwelling of God with men; and they shall be his people, and God will be their God, and be with them, and they shall be freed from all pain. That is the completed communion of love. The Revelation is no less a glorification of the divine love than the gospel; and, on the other hand, the wrath of God in Christ against His enemies, the children of the devil, the condemned, is expressed in the gospel, viii., no less than in the Revelation.

The fact that certain designations of God are peculiar to the Revelation, and do not occur in the gospel, is

due to the difference of the contents. God is called *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* ('the Almighty') nine times in the Revelation, and not once in the gospel. That, however, is natural. The gospel tells of the revelation of the grace of God in Christ, and the Revelation proclaims His future revelation of might unto the world, which is hostile to God. Hence in the former it is the 'Father' who reveals Himself, in the latter it is the one powerful over the world. What wonder is it, then, that in the gospel God is called *ὁ πατήρ* ('the Father') about one hundred and thirty times, while in the Revelation He is called the Father of Jesus Christ only five times?

2. *The Contrasts.*

What we have just considered is closely connected with the description of the great finally-decisive contrasts, as they are represented in the Revelation. It is the great drama of the history of the kingdom of God in its struggle with the world hostile to God. God and Satan, Christ and Antichrist, Church and World, and the like,—these great contrasts step before our eyes in great richly-coloured pictures. This needs no proof. The whole Revelation turns upon this great strife, which is fought between heaven and hell on earth, until, after the final judgment, the kingdom of the heavenly one triumphs. But is not this same thing the contents of the gospel, only in the frame of Jesus' life? It is the drama of the history of this life, the representation of the growing conflict between Jesus and his opponents. And here, too, it is the last moral contrasts that appear,—light and darkness, truth and falsehood, love and hate, God in Christ and Satan. We have the same manner of thought, the same disposition, in the gospel as in the Revelation. In the

latter, it is in the form of apocalyptic visions of the future ; in the former, it is in the form of a spiritualized remembrance of the past. In the latter, it is on the great scene of the world's stage ; in the former, it is in the narrow limits of the history of one person. Hence in the latter it appears in all the glow of highly-coloured pictures, while in the former it is but in the quiet emotion of the soul. Yet both times the powers acting are the same, and both times the history, which completes itself, is decisive. In the Revelation it is finally decisive, in the gospel centrally decisive. If such a view of history as lies at the foundation of the gospel should sketch a great world-picture of the last things in the form of apocalyptic representation, the result could hardly be other than what we have in the Revelation.

3. *Christology.*

This would not be possible if the Christology were not essentially the same in the two books. The gospel raises the essence of Christ into the sphere of the Godhead, and the Revelation does nothing else. The ancient church called the writer of the Revelation the Theologian, because he taught the Godhead of the Logos. Scholten⁷ sees in this very thing an argument against the apostolic composition of the Revelation, because 'the apotheosis of Jesus is too strong to be possibly attributed to a contemporary and disciple of Jesus.' In chapter v. the heavenly spirits praise the Lamb, just as they praise God in chapter iv. ; they 'honour the Son, even as they honour the Father,' John v. 23. And thus Christ is throughout taken together with God, vii. 10, xi. 15, xiv. 4, xxi. 22, xxii. 1, 3. Salvation now and in the future goes out alike

from both ; the dominion over the world belongs to both alike ; and the service of the servants of God is given to both alike. It is true that the Lamb stands on the steps of the throne, v. 6, vii. 17, but it is easy to see why Christ cannot here be represented as sitting. Elsewhere, iii. 21, it is declared that He has a seat upon the throne of God ; and not only the redeemed Church renders Him homage, but also the four living creatures, the representatives of the whole creation, v. 8. Of course, differences always remain. He is not called He who is, and who was, and who is to come, and the like. Nor does He simply coincide with God. He appears as the organ of God, but an organ which belongs together with God, and partakes of the divine essence. He is the first and the last, like God, i. 17 ; He, like the Father, is called the holy and true, iii. 7, 10 ; like God, He is the light, His face shines as the sun in all its strength, i. 16 ; and the city of God finds in Him its light, xxii. 5. It is not difficult to see that, except in the form of the picture, He appears here in just the same relation to the Father as in the gospel. Baur is utterly arbitrary when he says^s that, though the highest predicates are also given to Jesus in the Revelation, yet they are 'names only externally transferred to Him, and not joined to his person by any internal unity of essence.' They are predicates spoken of Him, figurative representations given of Him ; but something definite is intended thereby. And although, in the nature of the thing, the form in which the thoughts come to light is not that of ideal development, but that of vision and representation, nevertheless there lies at the foundation a definite view of the person of Christ, of its essence, and of its relation to God. But the view which lies at the foundation is undoubtedly the character of Christ as above all created beings, and his

internal union to the essence of God. When He is, in iii. 14, called 'the beginning of the creation of God,' ἡ ἀρχή ('beginning') is not 'initium' ('entrance'), but 'principium' ('principle'); so that He is designated as the principle of the creation, as He by whom all is created, and therefore here, just as in the gospel, is designated as the pre-existent one.

From this point it is but a short step to the Logos of the gospel. Where the presence of Christ for the victory over the Antichrist is spoken of, it is said of Him, xix. 13, 'and His name is called the Word of God.' It does not say will be called. It is not a future, but a previous name. As at His first coming upon earth He was called 'the Word,' so at His return He will be termed 'the Word of God.' Is, however, 'the Word of God' to be understood otherwise than as 'the Word' in the gospel? But the genitive τοῦ θεοῦ ('of God') supplies itself to the latter, since ὁ λόγος ('the Word') is meant in the absolute sense, just as when ἡ ζωή ('the life'), or the like, is said of Him. The coincidence between the gospel and the Revelation in this word is unmistakeable, and has been constantly remarked. They have either, like Lücke, made the gospel the foundation of the Revelation, or, like the newer critics, made the Revelation the foundation of the gospel. In any case, the contact is not by chance. It is not an unessential, but a characteristic designation of Christ, peculiar to the three books that bear John's name; in it these books coincide. And it is not merely a contact, but a real agreement. As Christ is in the gospel called the Word as the absolute revelation, so He is in the Revelation. He appears here as the closing revelation of Jehovah, as it is promised in the Old Testament. Hence also the genitive τοῦ θεοῦ is added to ὁ λόγος.

Scarcely any other name of Christ is so familiar to

the Revelation as that of the Lamb (*ἀρνίον*); it occurs twenty-nine times, and several times with the statement that the Lamb had been slain. But in the gospel Jesus is called the Lamb of God by the Baptist at the beginning of His appearance in public, and the evangelist sees the type of the passover lamb fulfilled in the crucified one. Both are characteristic of the gospel. Indeed, the Tübingen criticism thinks that the evangelist changed the chronology of the days of the passion for the sake of this thought. To be sure, Jesus in the Revelation is called, not *ἀμνός*, as in the gospel, but *ἀρνίον*. But, in the first place, this is a difference not of view but of expression, and the reason for it is not hard to find. Probably the contrast of the historical stages of Jesus' life, of his way of grief and of the presence of his glory, of his weakness and of his all-powerful strength, and so forth, in one and the same Jesus Christ, is what is meant to be made prominent.⁹

In connection with this stands that quotation from Zech. xii. 10, which is used in a like form, and a form unlike that of the Septuagint, in the gospel at xix. 37, and in the Revelation at i. 7. This agreement is always striking, and has been constantly so regarded.

It cannot seem strange to us that Jesus does not appear in the Revelation as the 'amiable Son of man,' as we know Him from the gospel.¹⁰ In the Revelation He appears as the judge, not as the one who came to seek and to save those who are lost. The eighth chapter of the gospel is enough to show that Jesus' 'amiability' has its bounds even in the gospel; and a reference to vii. 16 f. in the Revelation is all that is needed to make us see how thoroughly He is sympathizing love, even in the Revelation.

4. *Judaism.*

The decision, however, lies in the alleged Judaism of the Revelation and anti-Judaism of the gospel. I have proved in my larger work on John's gospel how little the appeal to *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* ('the Jews'), or to 'your law,' in the gospel, suffices to show its anti-Judaism. This is now better acknowledged than at the time at which Fischer¹¹ wrote his well-known treatise thereon, and Baur appealed to it as to an argument that could not be doubted. The one phrase John iv. 22, 'salvation is of the Jews,' is enough to refute the anti-Judaism of the gospel. Besides, as we have seen, the whole thought and speech of the evangelist is rooted in the Old Testament Scriptures and in Jewish soil. So, likewise, the alleged Judaism of the writer of the Revelation has to put up with very essential limitations. In chapter vii. he names, by the side of the one hundred and forty-four thousand that were sealed from the twelve tribes of Israel in the last times upon earth, the countless hosts of those saved 'of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues;' and he beholds them standing before the throne of God and of the Lamb, adorned with white garments, with palms in their hands, and praising God. This is as strong a recognition of the Christendom which is gathered from the Gentiles as any we find in Paul. It is probably unnecessary now to prove that these numberless hosts from all nations are not identical with those numbered from Israel. The recognition of the universality of Christianity and of the Church runs through the whole Revelation, v. 8 ff., xiv. 6 f., xxi. 24. It is absolutely impossible to see how the fact that the saved from Israel are counted, and the saved from the heathen are not counted, is meant to indicate a subordination

of the latter, as Volkmar, for example, thinks.¹² We could more easily infer the contrary. What Baur¹³ has found of such a subordination, or what Volkmar, at the place cited, has found of a mere permitted settlement of the Gentile Christians, is dragged in. It is true that the Old Testament designations, Israel and Jerusalem, are transferred to Christendom; but Paul does the same, Gal. vi. 16, iii. 29, iv. 26. Moreover, the New Testament Church of God is the continuation of that of the Old Testament, as the very name *ἐκκλησία* ('church') tells us, which is the translation of the Old Testament name for the Israelite national Church of Jehovah. If a prerogative of Israel lies in this, it is given by the connection of the history of salvation, and is recognised as a matter of course by Paul, both in his *Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρώτον* ('the Jew first'), Rom. i. 16, and in his comparison of the olive tree, Rom. xi. 17 ff.

Of course, if Paul were meant among those, Rev. ii. 2, who gave themselves out for apostles, while they were not, but were liars, and if Pauline Christians were meant in the sharp words of the letter against the Nicolaitanes, then this book would be dictated by a spirit which could not consist with that of the gospel. But they would also have to ask themselves how this spirit would agree with the universality of Christianity and of the Church in the Revelation itself. It is true that not only Baur and his school found, but even Keim¹⁴ still finds in the Revelation an attack upon Paul. It is, however, at last time for them to see and own the impossibility of this opinion.

The twelve foundation-stones, with the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, xxi. 14, prove nothing against the recognition of Paul's apostleship. Ought the writer of the Revelation to have spoken of thirteen foundations and names of apostles? If the future

heavenly Jerusalem is the antitype of the Old Testament Church of God, and hence twelve, and not thirteen, gates are spoken of, xxi. 12, then the writer of the Revelation can do nothing else than speak of twelve foundation-stones, and so of twelve names of apostles. So long as the Church has existed they have spoken thus, and even Pauline Christians have not left the number twelve. Besides, Paul does not belong to the twelve. He forms a particular apostolate, which is not historically fundamental, as the other apostolate was.

Were the words ii. 2 aimed at Paul, they would of course be all the keener because they are in the letter to the church of Ephesus, founded by Paul. But just let them make out clearly what these words would then amount to. If the words of the writer of the Revelation about the lying apostles struck at Paul, the most malignant heretical Jewish Christianity has not been more strongly inflamed against Paul than this writer would here be. We should have to do not with a Judaizing or Catholicizing reformation of Paulinism, but with an absolute and direct rejection and condemnation of it. How would it be possible for the memory of this to disappear altogether in those circles of Asia Minor in which the Revelation was at home and continued to work? The whole actual reality of the early church protests decidedly against our thinking that any such absolute rejection of the apostle Paul and of his work was possible within it. That which proves too much proves nothing. The lying apostles recall the false apostles, 2 Cor. xi. 4, 13, who pressed into Corinth to work against Paul.¹⁵ There they are Jews, who allege that they are messengers of Christ, and try to shake the authority of Paul in his Gentile-Christian churches. And here we shall also have to think of like Judaists, who wished to

pride themselves on a certain connection with Jesus Christ.

There is no right or reason for identifying the Nicolaitanes, who are spoken of in ii. 6, 14 f., with the lying apostles, as Düsterdieck, for example, does. On the contrary, ii. 6 evidently offers something different.¹⁶ Are these Nicolaitanes perhaps Paulists? Irenæus¹⁷ and Clement of Alexandria give us fuller accounts of these Nicolaitanes, and unmistakeably not, as Düsterdieck thinks, simply on the basis of the Revelation, but on the basis of special knowledge, and Clement, at least, with express appeal to the same. Irenæus reports that they claim to follow the deacon Nicolas, and that they live 'indiscrete' ('indiscreetly'), teaching, namely, 'that there is no distinction in fornication and in eating things offered to idols.' He does not say whether they were justified or not in appealing to Nicolas. Clement, moreover, reports that they misinterpreted Nicolas' words, 'it is necessary to abuse the flesh,'¹⁸ and revelled in lust. As to Nicolas himself, Clement relates¹⁹ that he and his house kept themselves pure; though he once, to refute the charge of jealousy, in a moment of passionate excitement made an offer of his wife. The former may have appealed to this event to justify their disorder of sexual life, while Nicolas himself, with his misinterpreted words, represented an excessive asceticism. He was a proselyte from Antioch, and therefore a Gentile by birth. Sometimes an excessive asceticism was easy for a Gentile Christian. But the history of Gnosticism shows how readily this, in its further course, could swing round into the contrary disorderly sensuality.²⁰ Thus the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes was a Gentile antinomianism. And if, as is probably unquestionable and generally agreed, we may combine with this the alleged knowledge of the depths of Satan on which the false teachers in

Thyatira prided themselves, then that antinomianism rests on a Gnostic theory of the mystery of evil. These are the false teachers Paul brought to view in his farewell words to the Ephesian elders, Acts xx. 29. The appeal to Paul's freer position towards the use of meat offered to idols, as it was for sale in the market, is no argument against this. The Revelation is not dealing with such indifferent use of meat, but with a use which brought one into contact with heathen affairs. The two things, fornication and idol-offerings, are put together by the writer of the Revelation, just as by Paul, 1 Cor. x. 7, 8. The passage cited from the Old Testament makes it clear that Paul's words refer to a sharing in heathen idolatrous feasts.²¹

The Revelation, therefore, is not so anti-Pauline and Judaic as to be absolutely inconsistent with the freer and more universal manner of thought proper to the gospel.

5. *Eschatology.*

And, finally, the eschatology of the Revelation is not so contrary to that of the gospel that the two books could not spring from a common soil. It is true that the gospel does not speak of the Antichrist, and lets the visible return of Christ fall into the background. His coming is, in the first place, that of the Spirit; that is, the Christian Church remains in her present condition, as the first product of the historical revelation of salvation, of which his preaching treats. But if the first epistle of John speaks of the Antichrist, and yet that is no proof against the author's identity with the author of the gospel, the same thing may serve for the Revelation. The elements of its view of the Antichrist lie in the gospel. The representation

of the antichristian time of persecution shows clearly that the union of the God-hostile powers of falsehood is constitutive for that view. And these very two are characteristic of the diabolical opposition, or of the God-hostile historical principle in the gospel, as we see by the standard passage John viii. 44.² Only the gospel, according to its task, remains in the present, and sees realized in the 'Jews' and in Judas the incarnation of the God-hostile principle of history, which has been active from the being of history; while the writer of the Revelation puts before our eyes the final completion thereof in the personal concentration to be found in the future. That, however, is only the culminating point of that which, as to essence, is already before us in the present. The description, of course, is determined by the whole genus of the Revelation.

The theme of the Revelation is the coming of Christ: *ἔρχομαι* ('I come'). This coming has its stages, up to the closing personal return of Christ to resurrection and to judgment. In the gospel, the coming of Christ in the Spirit stands in the foreground. But yet it is Christ who is coming in the Spirit. Nor does his coming end therewith. It lifts itself up to the point of the personal return of Christ. Indeed, that is the first thought with which Jesus comforts His disciples at the farewell, xiv. 2. Nor is the visible return of Christ foreign to the gospel, as v. 28 f. shows. Thus the two meet, though starting from different points. On the one hand, the thought of the gospel is not spent in a purely spiritual coming of Christ, but knows also of a personal and visible return. And, on the other hand, the Revelation does not merely recognise a sensible appearance of Christ, but knows also of preparations in the course of the preliminary history for his final appearance. We must neither spiritualize the gospel in a one-sided way, nor materialize the

Revelation in a one-sided way. The standpoint is simply different: in the former, it is the presence of the Spirit; in the latter, the issue of history. The representation is likewise different: in the one, it is in ordinary expressions of thought; here it is in the form of figurative speech, and with the means of sensible visions. But the contents which have clothed themselves in this form are ordinary thoughts. The evangelist did not need to spiritualize the Revelation, for it was already intended spiritually, and was only represented sensibly. The evangelist only presented the thoughts, which were likewise the thoughts of the writer of the Revelation, in the form of thoughts, while the latter presented them in the form of visions and vision-like pictures. Even in the doctrine there is no essential difference. The differences that exist, in so far as each of the two books treats of a list of themes not contained in the other, are occasioned by the difference of the subject with which they deal, and by the difference of the task they have.

Hence the difference between the two books is not so great that the author of the one absolutely could not be the author of the other. If this be held to be impossible, the choice ever remains as to which of the two traditions is to be sacrificed to the other. The irreconcilability of the two books would not necessarily decide against the gospel. But, as we have seen, they are not so irreconcilable as only to leave us the expedient of a choice between them.

There is but a single question further that can be thrown out. How was such a view of Jesus Christ as lies in John's gospel psychologically possible for one really a disciple of Jesus? We shall close with a few words about this.

¹ Holtzmann, Article 'Johannes der Apostel,' in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, Leipzig, vol. iii. (1871) p. 339.

² Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 3d edit., Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1868, p. 1104 ff.; compare with his book on the *Evangelium Johannis*, §§ 10–12, Zürich, 1845, pp. 141–188.

³ Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik*, *ut supra*, p. 1108.

⁴ See Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 1862, p. 549.

⁵ Gebhardt, *Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse und sein Verhältniss zum Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Episteln des Johannes*, Gotha, 1873.

⁶ Baur, *Vorlesungen über neutestamentliche Theologie*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 227; Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, II. ii., Berlin, 1843, p. 483.

⁷ Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asien*, Berlin, 1872, p. 9.

⁸ Baur, *ut supra*, p. 214 ff., especially p. 218.

⁹ See Düsterdieck, *Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis*, Göttingen, 1859, p. 234 f., on chapter v. 6. This is part of Meyer's Commentary.

¹⁰ Scholten, *ut supra*, pp. 9, 130. See Gebhardt, *Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, Gotha, 1873, p. 8.

¹¹ Fischer, *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1840, 2 Heft, pp. 96–133.

¹² Volkmar, *Commentar zur Offenbarung Johannis*, Zürich, 1862, p. 146 f. (?).

¹³ Baur, *ut supra*, p. 211 ff.

¹⁴ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, vol. i. p. 160.

¹⁵ See Düsterdieck, *Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis*, Göttingen, 1859, p. 137, on chapter ii. 2.

¹⁶ See also Gebhardt, *Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, Gotha, 1873, p. 220 f.

¹⁷ Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, I. xxvi. 3; edit. Massuet, Paris, 1710, p. 105; in Harvey's edit. I. xxiii. vol. i. p. 214; in Grabe, I. xxvii.

¹⁸ Δεῖν παραχρῆσθαι [-σαι] τῇ σαρκί. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, lib. ii.; *Opera*, edit. Sylburg, Cologne, 1688, p. 411.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Stromata*, lib. iii. p. 436.

²⁰ See Kliefoth, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1te Abtheilung, Leipzig, 1874, p. 174 ff.

²¹ See Hofmann, *Die heilige Schrift neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, 2ten Theils, 2te Abtheilung, Nördlingen, 1864, p. 211.

²² See also Gebhardt, *Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, Gotha, 1873, p. 407.

CHAPTER XI.

ST. JOHN'S CHRISTOLOGY PSYCHOLOGICALLY POSSIBLE.

HOW could a disciple, who walked with his Master upon earth, and who also stood in the daily intercourse of common human life with Him, win such a conception of Him as to ascribe divine being to Him, and look upon Him as a historical manifestation of the Godhead itself? Did not this transfiguration of the historical into the eternal, and of the human into the divine, demand a greater distance, both personal and chronological, than was possible for one really a disciple of Jesus? But the Tübingen school has the same problem to solve, when it takes the Revelation to be a monument of early Jewish Christianity, and to be of a most thoroughly Johannean spirit. So that question is not escaped by denying John's authorship of the gospel. If the Revelation only had the Messiah raised in the clouds, and not the Godhead of Jesus, this elevation into the superhuman would be wonderful enough in the case of one really a disciple of Jesus to present that question for an answer. Were this step conceived psychologically, the other could offer little further difficulty. But we have seen that the Revelation teaches that Jesus has an equal position with the Father in the heavenly worship, and this transfers the Son completely beyond the bounds of humanity into the sphere of the Godhead. If we may speak so, the gospel does not contain more Godhead of Christ than the Revelation. If, therefore, a disciple

of Jesus could think and speak of Jesus as the writer of the Revelation does, he could also think and speak as the evangelist does. Hence John's Christology is, by reason of its elevation and superhuman character, no argument against the apostolic composition of the gospel, so long as they hold fast to the Johannean origin of the Revelation.

The critical view puts the Revelation at about the year 69 or 70. We have the epistle to the Hebrews, with its Christology, from about the year 65. It brings its readers no new doctrine of the person of Christ formerly unknown or foreign to them. If it had wished to do this, it would have had to set about it in quite another way. Its aim is entirely different. It wishes to show the readers that the New Testament revelation is the fulfilment of the Old Testament revelation. This it does to confirm them in their Christian position, to strengthen them in patient hope, and to secure them against apostasy to Judaism. On behalf of this, it reminds them of what they have in the person of Christ. They are not to learn anything new about the person of Christ, but to be reminded of what they know; for it threatens to disappear from them, and so must be freshened up and made sure. In this connection, the words, 'the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person,' teach an essential relation of Christ to the Father, such as no Johannean words surpass. Moreover, the following words designate Him directly as God, by a transfer to Him of Old Testament words concerning Jehovah, Heb. i. 8, 9. This, therefore, was the view of Christ as it existed, or at least was possible, in the circle of the readers of the epistle to the Hebrews. And besides, it was Jewish-Christian circles in which this Christology was familiar, be it at Jerusalem and in Palestine, as the common view runs, be it in Syria, as

Hofmann thinks, or be it in Rome, as has lately been suggested. The Jewish Christians to whom this epistle was directed were converted at an early date, Heb. v. 12, and therefore were connected closely to the time of Jesus. It follows that it was not only late times and distant Christian philosophers who completed a transfiguration of Jesus, such as the gospel contains. Whether we can make this transfiguration conceivable in its psychological process or not, does not change the fact. It is easy to see how this process completed itself. All apostolic knowledge grew from the facts of history. Hence the historical transfiguration of Jesus has as a result the glorification of the knowledge of the person of Jesus. The gospel itself gives us a hold for this, when it makes the risen one to be owned by Thomas as Lord and God. The progress of the history of Jesus brought with it a corresponding progress. Thus they learned to draw the lines of the historical person of Jesus into the mystery of the divine being. By reason of this, we meet, only thirty years after Jesus' departure, in the nearest Jewish-Christian circles, this elevation of Jesus to the Godhead. Hence the loftiness of John's Christology is no argument against the apostolic origin of the gospel.

We may close these inquiries, then, with this result: That, choosing the most moderate expression, nothing has come in our way that disproved the tradition as to the Johannean origin of the gospel, but much that served to confirm it. The decision of the Tübingen criticism and its successors, with which the acts of this critical process were declared to be closed, was far from corresponding with the real contents of the subject, and from being ratified by the facts. In it one must make up his mind to take the Johannean question not as a historical but as a psychological

question. Historically, the matter is as clear and decided as the case can be in such historical and critical inquiries. The question only concerns the psychological possibility. But we have seen that this question is not so insoluble as to be able to make a point for appeal against the historical evidence.

APPENDIX.

LITERATURE

OF THE

DISPUTED ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL,

FROM 1792 TO THE PRESENT.

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LITERATURE.

NOTE.—Professor Luthardt's words, on page 15 above, might lead one unacquainted with the history of Biblical criticism to suppose that the book of Evanson fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, a sky that had been cloudless since the days of the Alogi. That is not exactly the case. It is true that the objections before Evanson's were avowedly aimed at the integrity rather than at the authenticity; yet they were, in effect, much like those of later hostile critics. This is not the place to discuss the question; it will suffice to say, that some of the English Deists in the early part of the eighteenth century, and some of the German Rationalists towards its close, seem to have gone so far as to deny to the gospel of John, no less than to the other gospels, all value as original records.

1792.

1. EVANSON, Edward.

The Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists and the Evidence of their Authenticity examined.

Ipswich, 1792, 8vo.

The gospel of John is from a Platonist of the second century.

1793.

2. PRIESTLEY, Joseph.

Letters to a Young Man, Part II.

London, 1793.

Priestley appears to have answered Evanson's work, above, in this second part. The first part was against other works of Evanson. For John's authorship.

3. SIMPSON, David.

An Essay on the Authenticity of the New Testament. Designed as an answer to Evanson's *Dissonance*.

For John's authorship.

1794.

3a. EVANSON, Edward.

A Letter to Dr. Priestley's Young Man ; with a Postscript concerning the Rev. Dr. Simpson's Essay, etc., in answer to Evanson's Dissonance and Volney's Ruins. London, 1794.

3b. HALFELD, Heinrich Wilhelm.

Commentarius de origine quatuor Evangeliorum et de eorum canonica auctoritate. In cert. lit. civ. Acad. Georgia Aug. . . . præm. orn. Göttingen, 1794.

1796.

4. ECKERMANN, Jacob Christoph Rudolf.

Wollte Jesus Wunder als Zeichen seiner göttlichen Sendung betrachtet wissen? *Theologische Beiträge*, Bd. v. St. 2.

Altona, 1796, pp. 5-105.

Jesus and his direct disciples based belief on the character of his doctrine, and not on miracles. The gospels, on the contrary, press miracles as the chief proof of divine confirmation. The inference that the gospels are not genuine finds its expression in the next article. See below, 5.

5. ECKERMANN, J. C. R.

Ueber die eigentlich sichern Gründe des Glaubens an die Hauptthaten der Geschichte Jesu, und über die wahrscheinliche Entstehung der Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte. *Theologische Beiträge*, Bd. v. St. 2.

Altona, 1796, pp. 106-256.

'The gospel of John is based on many very weighty paragraphs from the apostle John's own hand, in which he had noted for himself the discourses of Jesus that were especially remarkable. One of his friends, who had also heard the story of the passion of Jesus from John's lips, John xix. 35, or at least had informed himself as to it from other eye-witnesses, united these paragraphs to other information, collected partly from his mouth, and partly from friends of the apostles.'—P. 213. For retraction of these views, see below, 34.

1797.

6. STRONCK, Karl Wilhelm.

Specimen hermeneutico - theol. de Doctrina et Dictione Joannis Ap. ad Jesu Magistri Doctrinam Actionemque [dictionemque?] exacte composita. Utrecht, 1797, p. 259.

7. LANGE, Samuel Gottlieb.

Das Evangelium Johannis übersetzt und erklärt.

Weimar, 1797, pp. (viii.) 492 (1).

This is the second part of his *Die Schriften Johannis des vertrauten Schülers Jesu*, in 3 vols. 1795–97.

8. BOLTEN, John Adrian.

Der Bericht des Johannis von Jesu dem Messia. Uebersetzt und mit Bemerkungen begleitet.

Altona, 1797, 8vo. See Schmidt, below, 12.

9. HERDER, Johann Gottfried.

Von Gottes Sohn der Welt Heiland. Nach Johannes Evangelium. Nebst einer Regel der Zusammenstimmung unsrer Evangelien aus ihrer Entstehung und Ordnung.

Riga, 1797.

See, iii. Abschnitt, § 36, p. 176 f., and v. Abschnitt, § 55, p. 297 ff. Reviewed in (*Neuestes Theol. Jour.* Bd. ix. =) *Jour. für Theol. Liter.*, Bd. iii. 4tes Stück, 1802, pp. 348–59.

1798.

10. SCHMIDT, Johann Ernst Christian.

Versuch über Entstehung der Katholischen Kirche. *Bibliothek für Kritik und Exegese* (ii. Bd. 1 St.).

Herborn and Hadamar, 1798, pp. 1–35.

In the earlier part he doubts whether the gospel could be from John, because it was not mentioned by Papias of Hierapolis or by Justin, pp. 15, 16.

In the appendix, written a year after the first part, he owns that he had objected to this gospel, but says that he can no longer assume that it was unknown in Asia at that earlier date. He suggests that it was not widely known because at first kept in the hands of riper Christians, as being unintelligible to others, pp. 33–35.

11. STORR, Gottlob Christian.

Hat Jesus seine Wunder für einen Beweis seiner göttlichen Sendung erklärt? Eine historische Untersuchung. *Magazin für christliche Dogmatik und Moral* (J. F. Flatt's), Viertes Stück.

Tübingen, 1798, pp. 178–250, especially p. 239 ff.

Against Eckermann, see above, 4 and 5.

12. SCHMIDT, Johann Ernst Christian.

Ob das Evangelium Johannis ursprünglich in syrischer Sprache
sei geschrieben gewesen. *Bibliothek für Kritik und Exegese*
(ii. Bd. 2tes Stück). 1798, pp. 278-286.

A review of Bolten, *see above*, 8, on this point.

13. RUSSWURM, Johann Wilhelm Bartholomäus.

Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der Evangelien des Matth.
Mark. Luk. und Joh. und ihre kanonische Autorität.
Ratzeburg, 1798 (Ersch (1812) marks this : Hanover, 1797).

Our gospels are different copies of an original gospel.

1799.

14. STAEUDLIN, Carl Friedrich.

Bemerkungen über den Ursprung der vier Evangelien und der
Apostelgeschichte in Beziehung auf die Untersuchungen des
Herrn Doctors Eckermann, in seinen theologischen Beiträgen,
v. Bd. 2 St. p. 147 ff. *See above*, 4 and 5. *Beiträge zur*
Philosophie und Geschichte der Religion und Sittenlehre, etc.
vol. v. Lubeck, 1799.

Combats Eckermann.

1800.

15. SUESKIND, Friedrich Gottlieb.

Beitrag zur Beantwortung der Frage : Aus welchen Gründen
nahm Irenæus die Aechtheit unserer vier Evangelien an ?
In Beziehung auf Eckermann's theologische Beiträge, Bd. v.
St. 2. *Magazin für christl. Dogmatik und Moral* (Flatt's), vi. tes
Stück. Tübingen, 1800, pp. 95-139.

Against Eckermann.

1801.

16. (VOGEL, Erhard Friedrich.)

Der Evangelist Johannes und seine Ausleger vor dem jüngsten
Gericht.

1801, 8vo (Heinsius gives Hof. 1800), pp. (iv.), 42, and 367.

A coarse book. The last judgment is his own criticism.
It is dedicated to Jean Paul. A second part was issued in
1804, 8vo, pp. (6), 426. Author and place of publication
named in neither volume.

17. Review of Vogel's book just named. *Erlanger Literatur Zeitung*.
1801, Nr. 105, 106.

1802.

18. SCHLEKER, Friedrich Wilhelm.
Versuch einer Widerlegung der hauptsächlichsten Einwürfe,
die in der neuesten Zeit gegen die Aechtheit des Evan-
geliums Johannis gemacht sind. Mit einer Vorrede vom
Herrn Dr. Ziegler.
Rostock, 1802, pp. 96 (last page misnumbered 46).
19. ZIEGLER, Werner Karl Ludwig.
Bemerkungen über das Evangelium des Johannes, und Erk-
lärunen einzelner schwierigen Stellen desselben. *Journ. für
Theol. Lit.* Bd. iii. (*Neuest. Th. Jour.* Bd. ix.).
Nürnberg, 1802, pp. 15-69.
Occasioned by Vogel (*see above*, 16), but not aimed at him
or at anybody else, pp. 16, 17.
20. HAENLEIN, Heinrich Karl Alexander.
Lehrbuch der Einleitung in die Schriften des neuen Testa-
mentes.
Erlangen, 1802. St. John's Gospel, §§ 101-105, pp. 376-390.
21. Review of Herder's *Von Gottes Sohn*. *Journ. für Theol. Liter.*
1802, pp. 348-359. *See Herder*, above, 9.
22. RUSSWURM, Johann Wilhelm Bartholomäus.
Urevangelium. Ein Versuch aus der höheren Kritik. *Theolo-
gische Monats-Schrift*. (Augusti.)
1802, 5tes Heft, pp. 322-342.
- 22a. RITTER, Gottlob Samuel.
Untersuchung einiger Fragen und Urtheile den Ursprung der
Evangelien betreffend. *Theologische Monats-Schrift*. (Augusti.)
1802, 9tes Heft, pp. 157-175.

1803.

23. SUESKIND, Friedrich Gottlieb.

Beitrag zur Vertheidigung der Aechtheit des Evangeliums Johannis, in Beziehung auf die Schrift, 'Der Evangelist Johannes und seine Ausleger vor dem jüngsten Gericht, 1801.' *Magazin für christl. Dogmatik und Moral* (Flatt's, from now on, edited by Süskind), ix. tes Stück.

Tübingen, 1803, pp. 1-71.

24. HORST, Georg Konrad.

Ueber einige anscheinende Widersprüche in dem Evangelium des Johannis, in Absicht auf das Logos, oder das Höhere in Christo. *Museum für Religionswissenschaften in ihrem ganzen Umfange* (H. P. K. Henke), Bd. i.

Magdeburg, 1803 (Heft 1803, Bd. 1804), pp. 20-46.

To see more of Horst's views as to Scripture, look at *Theologische Monats-Schrift*, (Augusti) 1802, 5tes Heft, pp. 354-367, and 8tes Heft, pp. 134-138, where he considers the question, whether it would not have been better had we no written information as to Jesus Christ. He thinks the Scriptures very good and useful, but not divine. See also *Y.Z.*, *Ibid.* 7tes Heft, pp. 42-57.

25. HORST, Georg Konrad.

Lässt sich die Aechtheit des Johanneischen Evangeliums aus hinlänglichen Gründen bezweifeln, und welches ist der wahrscheinliche Ursprung dieser Schrift? *Museum f. Rel.-wiss.* (Henke's), Bd. i.

Magdeburg, 1803 (Heft 1803, Bd. 1804), pp. 47-118.

'Language, dress, and shape of ideas in this book appear to betray plainly an Alexandrian origin,' p. 96 f.

25a. HARTMANN, Anton Theodor.

Betrachtungen über die vier Evangelien. *Der Schriftforscher* (Scherer), Bd. i. St. 3. Weimar, 1803.

Against authenticity, see p. 495.

1804.

26. SUESKIND, Friedrich Gottlieb.

Noch etwas zur Vertheidigung der Aechtheit des Evangeliums Johannis. *Magazin für christl. Dogmatik und Moral* (Flatt's, continued by Süskind) xi. tes Stück.

Tübingen, 1804, pp. 57-110.

27. SUESKIND, F. G.

Ueber einige anscheinende Widersprüche im Evangelium des
Johannis in Absicht auf das Höhere in Christo. *Ut supra*,
xites Stuck, pp. 110–119.

This is against the article of Horst with like title; *see*
above, 24.

28. SCHMIDT, Johann Ernst Christian.

Historisch-kritische Einleitung in's Neue Testament.

Giessen, vol. i. 1804 (falsely printed 1809).

For the gospel of John, *see* vol. i. §§ 55–67, pp. 133–160.
Second edition, 1818.

1805.

29. NOELDEKE, Georg Friedrich.

Versuch einige Widersprüche, welche im Evangelium Johannis
zu liegen scheinen, exegetisch und psychologisch zu heben,
mit Rücksicht auf des Herrn Pfarrers Horst Aufsatz.
Museum f. Rel.-wiss. (Henke's) Bd. ii.

Magdeburg, 1805, pp. 97–118.

Against Horst's article of 1803; *see* above, 24.

30. BERTHOLDT, Leonhard.

Verosimilia de origine Evangelii Johannis. Erlangen, 1805.

The gospel John's; his notes in Aramaic at first, but written
off in Greek at the end of his life.

Reprinted in Bertholdt's *Opuscula Academica*, Leipzig, 1824,
pp. 1–32.

1806.

31. WEGSCHEIDER, Julius August Ludwig.

Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in das Evangelium des
Johannes. Göttingen, 1806.

For the genuineness.

32. GLASER, Andreas Friedrich Gottlob.

Dissertatio Exegetico-Historica de Johanne Apostolo, Evan-
gelii, quod ejus nomen præ se fert, vero auctore, respectu
recentiorum quorundam dubitationum atque criminationum.

Helmstädt, 1806, 4to, pp. 46.

33. VAN GRIETHUYSEN, Wilhelm Heribert.

Pro Evangelii Joannei *αἰθερίῳ*. Dissertation offered for disputation on 17th June 1807.

Harderwyck, 1806, 8vo, pp. 166 (6).

Reviewed in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Halle, 25th August 1808, pp. 969-972.

1807.

34. ECKERMANN, J. C. R.

Erklärung aller dunkeln Stellen des N. T.

Kiel, vol. ii. 1807.

Took back the view he had put forth before; *see* above, 4 and 5.

1808.

35. CLUDIUS, Hermann Heimart.

Uransichten des Christenthums nebst Untersuchungen über einige Bücher des Neuen Testaments. Altona, 1808.

3ter Abschnitt, Ueber Johannis Evangelium und über den ersten Brief Johannis, pp. 50-89. This gospel written by a Jew, p. 50. Worked over by two men. Agrees with Horst (*see* above, 24 and 25) in this, p. 58. Written by a Gnostic, who accepted Christianity entirely independently of Judaism, p. 350; and was worked over, 1st, by a Gnostic who believed in Æons, and made the Logos an Æon united with Christ; and 2d, by a Jewish Christian, who really was the earlier of the two revisers, *see* pp. 350-354 and 359-367.

36. HUG, Johann Leonhard.

Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.

2d edit. 1821. 3d edit. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1826, vol. ii. §§ 57-61, pp. 205-233. 4th edit. Stuttgart, 1847.

1809.

37. HAENLEIN, Heinrich Karl Alexander.

Handbuch der Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. 2d edit. Erlangen, 1809.

The gospel of John, part iii. chap. vi. pp. 163-223.

1810.

38. EICHHORN, Johann Gottfried.
Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Leipzig, 1810.
The gospel of John, vol. ii. §§ 155–176, pp. 99–280.
39. FEILMOSER, Andreas Benedict.
Einleitung in die Bücher des neuen Bundes für die öffentlichen
Vorlesungen. Innsbruck, 1810.
2d edit. pp. 240–246. Tübingen, 1830.
40. STORR, Gottlob Christian.
Ueber den Zweck der evangelischen Geschichte und der Briefe
Johannis. 2d edit. (1st edit. was in 1786.)
Tübingen, 1810.

1811.

41. AMMON, Christoph Friedrich von.
Docetur, Johannem, evangelii auctorem, ab editore hujus libri
diversum. Programme, Erlangen, 1811, 4to, pp. 16.
- 41a. FALCONER, Thomas.
Certain Principles in Evanson's *Dissonance of the Evangelists*
examined in eight discourses preached (1810) at the Bampton
Lectures. Oxford, 1811, 8vo; Appendix, 1822.
See above, 1. Said to refute Evanson completely.

1812.

42. BALLENSTEDT, Heinrich Christian.
Philo und Johannes, oder fortgesetzte Anwendung des Philo
zur Interpretation der Joh. Schriften, mit besonderer Rück-
sicht auf die Frage, ob Johannes der Verfasser der ihm
zugeschriebenen Schriften sein könne?
Göttingen, 1812, 8vo.
Preceded in 1802 by a book on the Logos in Philo and John.
43. PAULUS, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob.
Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über das
Evangelium des Johannes in welchem der Griechische Text
. . . als Grundlage der Geschichte des Urchristenthums
synoptisch und chronologisch bearbeitet ist. Comment. über
d. N. T., iv. Theil, 1te Abth. 1te Hälfte. Leipzig, 1812.
For Paulus' later views, *see below, 63.*

1813.

44. BERTHOLDT, Leonhard.

Historisch-kritische Einleitung in sämtliche kanonische und
apokryphische Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments.

Erlangen, 1813.

The gospel of John, part iii. §§ 341–346, pp. 1299–1327.

1814.

45. GRATZ, Aloys.

Kritische Untersuchungen über Justin's apostolische Denkwür-
digkeiten. Stuttgart, 1814.

Reviewed in *Archiv für die Theologie und ihre neueste Literatur*
(Bengel), 1816, pp. 341–364.

1816.

46. BORGER, Elias Annes.

De constanti et æquabili Jesu Christi indole, doctrina, ac docendi
ratione, sive commentationes de Evangelio Johannis, cum
Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ Evangeliiis comparato. Pars I.

Leyden, 1816, 8vo, pp. xvi. 180.

47. MOELLER, Antonius Gulielmus Petrus.

Commentatio de genii ac indolis Evangelii Johannei priorumque
Evangeliorum diversa ratione rite definienda.

Programme, Breslau, 1816, 4to, pp. 34.

48. DIEFFENBACH, Ludwig Adam.

Ueber einige wahrscheinliche Interpolationen im Evangelium
Johannis. *Kritisch. Journ. d. neuest. theol. Lit.* (edited by
Bertholdt of Erlangen, printed at Sulzbach), Bd. v. 1816,
pp. 1–16.

Inclines to think the first epistle the basis of this gospel, and
the gospel written by a philosophically educated disciple and
spiritual relation of the apostle's. Yet, notwithstanding, con-
cludes to accept the gospel as genuine, except the interpolations
noted by him.

49. TITTMANN, Carl Christian.

Meletemata Sacra sive Commentarius exegetico-critico-dogma-
ticus in Evangelium Joannis. Leipzig, 1816.

Genuineness presupposed, not discussed; see p. 24.

1817.

- 49a. KUINOEL, Christian Gottlieb.
 Commentarius in libros N. T. historicos. Evangelium Johannis.
 2d edit. vol. iii. Leipzig, 1817, pp. 11–34.
 Answers chiefly Horst ; *see* above, 24, 25.

1818.

50. SCHMIDT, J. E. C.
 Einleitung, 2d edit. *See* above, 1804.
51. GIESELER, Johann Carl Ludwig.
 Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die
 frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien.
 Leipzig, 1818 ; *see* pp. 133–141.
52. WURM, Jacob Gottlieb.
 Nonnulla ad authentiam Evangelii Joannei vindicandam et
 momento suo ponderandam spectantia.
 Programme, Tübingen (1818), 4to, pp. 16.
 This is against the article by Dieffenbach (*see* above, 48).
 Reviewed in *Neue theol. Annalen* (Wachler), August 1820, pp.
 670, 671.

1819.

53. WINER, Georg Benedict.
 Justinum Martyr evangeliiis canonicis usum fuisse ostenditur.
 (Leipzig) 1819.

1820.

BRETSCHNEIDER.

54. BRETSCHNEIDER, Karl Gottlieb.
 Probabilia de evangelii et epistolarum Joannis Apostoli, indole
 et origine eruditorum judicii modeste subjicit Carolus
 Theophilus Bretschneider.
 Leipzig, 1820, 8vo, pp. xvi. 224.

The Jesus and the discourses of Jesus differ from the true ones in the synoptists : the writer was not an eye-witness : therefore the apostle John did not write it. The doctrinal formulas, the forms of speech, the incorrect illustrations of Jewish affairs, the mistakes as to the celebration of the pass-over, the author's way of making himself distinguished, and

his anxiety to prove himself trustworthy, show that he was neither a native of Palestine nor a Jew. It certainly was not written by the apostle John, or a companion of Jesus, or a Christian born or living in Palestine, or born a Jew; but by a Christian presbyter, who probably lived in Egypt, because he follows the Alexandrian and not the Asia Minor view as to the passover, and because his doctrine fits best with Gnosticism. The Egyptian Gnostics approved of his gospel, and carried it to Rome. He wrote in the second century. *See* pp. 149 and 224. Reviews noted below, at dates.

55. SCHOTT, Heinrich August.
Examinantur dubitationes quædam de authentia evangelii Joannei nuperrime ex prioribus quatuor capitibus a S. V. Bretschneidero excitatæ.
 Christmas Programme, Jena, 1820, 4to, pp. 28.
56. (EICHORN, Johann Gottfried.)
 Against Bretschneider. *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1820, 136. Stück, 24 August 1820, pp. 1353-1360.
57. (WACHLER, Johann Friedrich Ludwig.)
 Against Bretschneider. *Neue theologische Annalen*, 1820, September and October, pp. 721-765.
58. LUECKE, Friedrich.
Commentar über die Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes.
 Genuineness, *see* I. i. 2.
 Bonn, 1820, vol. i. pp. 13-53, especially 31 ff.
 Agrees with ancient and reformation church in thinking John the best gospel, pp. 3-13.
- Second edition. Bonn, 1833.
 Genuineness, chap. i. §§ 2-9, vol. i. pp. 5-118; § 6, pp. 69-82, gives a review of the literature of the contested origin up to date.
- Third edition. Bonn, 1ter Theil, 1840, pp. 6-160.
59. ROEHR, Johann Friedrich.
 On Bretschneider. *Kritische Predigerbibliothek*, 1 Bd. 4 Heft, 1820.

1821.

60. On Bretschneider. *Theologische Quartalschrift*.
 Tübingen, 1821, Hefte 2, 3.

61. WAGNITZ, Heinrich Balthasar.
On Bretschneider. *Journal für Prediger*, Halle, 1821, Bd. lxii.
St. 1, 2 (or *Neues Journ. f. Pred.* Bd. 42).
62. On Bretschneider's *Probabilia*. *Leipziger Literaturzeitung*, 1821,
N. 32, 33.
63. PAULUS, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob.
Bretschneider de Origine Ev. et. Epist. Joann. *Heidelberg.
Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1821, pp. 112–142.
The author a disciple of John's, and thus distinct from the
apostle, his eye-witness and guarantee.
Ibidem. Review of the first part of Lücke's Commentary;
see above, 58. *Heidel. Jahrb.* 1821, pp. 227–261. The
author's earlier view in his Commentary; *see above*, 43.
64. SARTORIUS, Ernst.
Ueber die Ächtheit des Johanneischen Evangeliums. *Monats-
schrift für Predigerwissenschaften* (Zimmermann's), Bd. i.
Stücke 5, 6. Darmstadt, 1821.
- 64a. ZOELLIG, Christian Friedrich.
Briefe über den Supranaturalismus. . . . Sondershausen und
Nordhausen, 1821. *See* pp. 258 ff. against Bretschneider's
Probabilia.
65. KAISER, Gottlieb Philipp Christian.
Commentationes de apologeticis evangelii Joannei consiliis
authentiam ejus commonstrantibus.
Particula I.; Programme, Erlangen, 1821, 4to, pp. 24.
„ II.; 1824, 4to, pp. 32.
„ III.; 1825, 4to, pp. 23.
The apologetical aim of the gospel shows that it was written
in the first century, and by John.

1822.

66. STEIN, Carl Wilhelm.
Authentia Evangelii Johannis contra S. V. Bretschneideri dubia
vindicata. . . . Libellum historico-criticum.
Brandenburg, 1822.
67. BENGEL, Ernst Gottlieb.
On Bretschneider. *Neues Archiv für die Theologie*, 1 Bd. 1
Stück. Tübingen, 1822, p. 1 ff.

1823.

68. USTERI, Leonhard.

Commentatio critica in qua Evangelium Joannis genuinum esse ex comparatis IV. Evangeliorum narrationibus de cœna ultima et passione Jesu Christi ostenditur. . . . Subjunctum est Joannis Philoponi opusculum de Paschate pluraque veterum scriptorum fragmenta.

Zürich, 1823, 8vo, pp. viii. 145.

Review in *Neues Krit. Journal d. theol. Lit.* (Winer u. Engelhardt), 2 B. 3 St. 1824, pp. 153 ff., 172 ff.

69. WEBER, Michael.

Authentia capitis ultimi evangelii Johannei, hujusque evangelii totius, argumentorum internorum usu, vindicata.

Halle, 1823, 8vo, pp. 150.

This is an Easter programme in two parts, of which the second, pp. 35-148, discusses the genuineness of the gospel. It was followed by a Pentecost programme : Authentia epistolæ Johannis primæ, arg. int. usu, vindicata, pp. 71.

70. SEYFFARTH, Traugott August.

Ein Beitrag zur Special-Charakteristik der Johanneischen Schriften besonders des Johanneischen Evangeliums.

Leipzig, 1823.

See Preface, p. v. The genuineness of this gospel 'is questioned [by others, not by Seyffarth] not so much on critical grounds, as on account of a failure to understand several things.'

71. CALMBERG, August Gottlieb.

De antiquissimis Patrum pro evangelii Joannei ἀθετική testimoniis. Dissertation, Hamburg, 1823, fol. pp. 41 (1).

Against Bretschneider.

72. HEMSEN, Johann Tychsen.

Die Authentie der Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes untersucht. Schleswig, 1823, pp. iv. 382 (1).

Meant to be a thorough answer to Bretschneider's *Probabilia* ; see above, 54.

73. GEISSE, Friedrich Josias.

Paradoxa über hochwichtige Gegenstände des Christenthums. Cassel, 1823, pp. 70-128.

It is enough to show that the gospel was canonical in the earliest times, whether we prove it to be from John or not.

74. OLSHAUSEN, Hermann.

Die Ächtheit der vier canonischen Evangelien aus der Geschichte der zwei ersten Jahrhunderte erwiesen. Ein Versuch. Königsberg, 1823, pp. xvi. 456.

75. GOLDHORN, Johann David.

Das Schweigen des Johanneischen Evangelium über den Seelenkampf Jesu in Gethsemane. Ein Beitrag zu den Beweisen für die Ächtheit dieses Evangeliums aus inneren Gründen. *Magazin für christl. Prediger* (Tzschirner), 1823, 1 Bd. 2 St. pp. 1-28.

1824.

76. BRETSCHNEIDER, Karl Gottlieb.

Einige Bemerkungen zu dem Aufsätze des Herrn D. Goldhorn (im 1 Bde. 2. St. dieses *Magaz.* p. 1 ff.) über das Schweigen des Johanneischen Evangelium von dem Seelenkampfe Jesus in Gethsemane. *Magazin für christliche Prediger* (Tzschirner's), 1824, pp. 153-167.

On pages 154, 155, Bretschneider seems to own that the writings called out by his *Probabilia* (see above, 54) had in general more than answered his arguments.

77. RETTIG, Heinrich Christian Michael.

De quatuor Evangeliorum canonicorum origine. *Ephemerides exegetico-theologicae*, fasciculus primus.

Giessen, 1824; John's gospel, pp. 62-96.

See pp. 83, 84: 'From which I conclude that this gospel was composed and digested by a later Christian, a hearer of John, perhaps devoted to Gnostic philosophy.' For review of this and of 77a, see *Neues krit. Jour. d. theol. Lit.* (Winer und Engelhardt), Bd. ii. Stück 4, 1824, pp. 470-476.

Ibidem, De quatuor Evangeliorum canonicorum origine, duodecim excursus. *Ephem. exeget.-theol.*, fasc. tertius.

Giessen, 1824.

See Excursus X., 'De Joannis nomine in evangelio quarto nusquam scripto,' pp. 83, 84. The gospel written by another. John could not have been so lacking in modesty as to call himself the disciple whom Jesus loved.

77a. REUSS, Georg Jacobus Ludwig.

Exercitationes quædam ad interpretenda loca Sacri Codicis difficiliora. *Ephemerides exeget.-theologicae*, fasciculus secundus.

Giessen, 1824.

See V., 'De loco Joh. xxi. 22, 23 qui recte intellectus, vel tempus, quo, quæ Johanni in Evangelio sui nominis adjudi-

canda, scripta sint, designat.,' pp. 36-44. The gist of the gospel from John, but a large part of it, including the prologue, from the editor.

78. CROME, Friedrich Gottlieb.

Probabilia haud Probabilia oder Widerlegung des von Herrn Dr. Bretschneider gegen die Ächtheit und Glaubwürdigkeit des Evangeliums und der Briefe des Johannes erhobenen Zweifel. Eine gekrönte Preisschrift.

Leiden and Leipzig, 1824, 8vo, pp. 380.

1825.

79. KUINOEL, C. G.

3d edit. of Commentary ; *see* above, 49a.

1826.

80. RETTBERG, Friedrich Wilhelm.

An Joannes in exhibenda Jesu natura reliquis canonicis scriptis vere repugnet ? Göttingen, 1826, 8vo, pp. 119 (1).

81. DE WETTE, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht.

Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Neuen Testaments. Berlin, 1826.

5th edit. 1848. *See* §§ 109a-110g, pp. 206-218.

6th edit. Berlin, 1860. *See* §§ 103-112, pp. 209-240.

82. HUG, J. L.

Einleitung in . . . N. T. 3d edit. ; *see* above, 36.

83. REUTERDAHL, Heinrich.

De fontibus historiæ Eusebianæ.

Lund, 1826.

He questions the residence at Ephesus.

1827.

84. REINECKE, Carl Friedrich Conrad.

De constanti et æquabili Jesu Christi indole et ingenio, doctrina et docendi ratione, sive commentatio de Evangelio Johannis cum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ Evangeliiis conciliato.

See above, 46.

Hanover, 1827, 8vo, pp. 78.

85. THOLUCK, August Friedrich Theofidus.

Commentar zum Evangelium Johannis.

Hamburg, 1827, p. 20 ff.

2d edit. Hamburg, 1828. 7th edit. Gotha, 1857.

86. HEYDENREICH, August Ludwig Christian.
 Ueber die Behauptung dass Jesus in den drei synoptischen Evangelien ganz anders erscheine, als in dem Johanneischen. *Zeitschrift für Predigerwissenschaften* (Heydenreich und Hüffel), Bd. i. Stücke 1 und 2. Marburg, 1827.
- 1828.
87. PARÉ, Johann.
 De Johannis Evangelio non prorsus dissimili prioribus Evangelii, nec ob dissimilitudinem repudiando.
 Utrecht, 1828, pp. 165.
88. BRETSCHNEIDER, Karl Gottlieb.
 Handbuch der Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, Bd. i. Leipzig, 1828; see pp. viii. and 268.
 Bretschneider, on p. 224 of his *Probabilia* (see above, 54), said that the gospel certainly could not be from John or from a companion of Jesus: 'Hoc certe intelligitur, neque Joannem apostolum, neque Jesu comitem . . . evangelium conscripsisse.' His probability had ended in certainty. In *Tzschirner's Magazine*, 1824, he had made an indefinite uncertain retraction (see above, 76). Now, in 1828, he declares that these certain 'probabilities' were only meant to bring out the proofs of the authenticity, that they had 'reached their aim,' and that he 'considers the case as settled for the theological public.'
89. SCHOTT, Heinrich August. [Misplaced; should follow 96.]
 Isagoge Historico-Critica in Libros Novi Fœderis Sacros.
 Jena, 1830, §§ 37, 38, pp. 114–135.
 Good literature of contest, pp. 132–135.
90. FISCHER, Friedrich.
 Zur Einleitung in die Dogmatik . . . ein Beitrag zur endlichen Beilegung des Streits zwischen Rationalismus und Supernaturalismus.
 Tübingen, 1828; see p. 96 ff.
91. GUERICKE, Heinrich Ernst Ferdinand.
 Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament, . . . vornehmlich die Einleitung in die einzelnen Bücher und deren Ächtheit hauptsächlich betreffend . . . besonders mit polemischer Rücksicht auf das Lehrbuch des Herrn de Wette.
 Halle, 1828; see p. 59 ff.
 For De Wette's book, see above, 81.

1829.

92. FROSTER, Bj.
Animadversiones in Bretschneideri Probabilia. Hels. 1829, 4to.
93. HASE, Karl August.
Das Leben Jesu. Ein Lehrbuch zunächst für akademische Vorlesungen. Leipzig, 1829.
2d edit. 1834; 3d edit. 1840; 4th edit. 1854, p. 4 f.; 5th edit. 1865.
94. KLEE, Heinrich.
Commentar über das Evangelium nach Johannes.
Genuineness, pp. 13–18. Mainz, 1829, 8vo.
95. CROME, Friedrich Gottlieb.
Ueber Lucas i. 1–4 und Johannes xx. 30, 31, nebst einem Zusatz über Johannes i. 1–5, 9–14, 16–18. Als Beitrag zur Beantwortung der Frage: Unter welchen Umständen sind unsere vier canonischen Evangelien entstanden?
Studien und Kritiken, 1829, pp. 754–766.

1830.

96. FEILMOSER, Andreas Benedict.
Einleitung, 2d edit.; *see above*, 39.

1831.

97. HAUFF, Carl Victor.
Die Authentie und der hohe Werth des Evangeliums Johannis, mit Rücksicht auf neuere Einwendungen, für Wahrheit suchende Bibelfreunde. Eine von der Gesellschaft in den Niederlanden zur Vertheidigung des Christenthums gekrönte Preisschrift. Nuremberg, 1831, pp. xiv. 294.
98. FLECK, Ferdinand Florenz.
De imagine Christi Joannea et synoptica, commentatio.
Leipzig, 1831, 8vo, pp. 22. *Otium Theologicum*, pp. 1–22.
For the genuineness.
99. GUERICKE, H. E. F.
Fortgesetzte Beiträge zur . . . Einleitung, u.s.w.; *see above*, 91. Die Hypothese von dem Presbyter Johannes als Verfasser der Offenbarung; geprüft. Halle, 1831.

1832.

100. RAUCH, J. H. G.

Ueber das letzte Paschamal, die Zeitbestimmung desselben,
des Leidens und Todes Jesu. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832,
pp. 537–559.

- 100a. OLSHAUSEN, Hermann.

Nachweis der Echtheit sämtlicher Schriften des Neuen
Testaments. Hamburg, 1832.
John's gospel, pp. 44–50.

1833.

101. LUECKE, Friedrich.

Commentar über das Evangelium Johannis. 2d edit. Bonn,
1833; *see above*, 58.

1834.

102. HASE, Karl August.

Das Leben Jesu, 2d edit.; *see above*, 93.

1835.

STRAUSS.

103. STRAUSS, David Friedrich.

Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet.

Tübingen, vol. i. 1835, vol. ii. 1836.

2d edit. 1837.

3d edit. Tübingen, vol. i. 1838, vol. ii. 1839.

4th edit. Tübingen, 1840. *See* vol. i. pp. 659–701.

‘Since it is plain that the apostolic authenticity of John’s gospel in the early Church is only very imperfectly and ambiguously attested, and since the contents of the gospel partly stand in insoluble contradiction with the three first, and partly are in themselves utterly impossible historically, the book cannot have been written by the apostle John.’

Reviewed by Ullmann, *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1836, pp. 770–816, and Müller, *Ibid.* pp. 816–890. For the reviews and discussions of and answers to Strauss, *see* Bretschneider, *Systematische Entwicklung aller in der Dogmatik vorkommenden Begriffe*, etc., 4th edit. Leipzig, 1841, pp. 584–587.

1836.

104. CREDNER, Karl August.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament.

Halle, 1836.

1837.

105. THOLUCK, A. F. T.

Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte, zugleich eine Kritik des Lebens Jesu von Strauss, für theologische und nicht theologische Leser dargestellt. Hamburg, 1837.
2d edit. 1838.

105a. WEISSE, Christian G. (Hermann ?)

Review of Tholuck, 105. *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und speculative Theologie*. Bonn, 1837, Bd. ii. pp. 225–300.

John's gospel, pp. 294–300. The gospel from John, but patched up by later hands.

106. NEANDER, John August Wilhelm.

Das Leben Jesu Christi in seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange und in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt. Hamburg, 1837.

Reprinted in same year. 5th edit. Hamburg, 1852.

107. DE WETTE, W. M. L.

Kurze Erklärung des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis. (1 Bd. 3 Theil of *Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch zum N. T.*)

Leipzig, 1837.

See introduction, pp. 5–8, and appendix, pp. 214–222. On p. 8 he says: 'The recognition of the Johannean authorship of our gospel will, even after the latest and most violent attacks, always rule in the Church.'

3d edit. Leipzig, 1846.

4th edit. worked over by Brückner, Leipzig, 1852.

5th edit. also by Brückner, Leipzig, 1863.

108. DE GROOT, P. Hofstede.

Het onderscheid tusschen de voorstelling en uitdrukking van Jesus en van Johannes, in het evangelie van Johannes op te merken. *Waarheid in Liefde*, 1837, p. 102 ff.

109. NORTON, Andrews.

The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.

3 vols. Cambridge, 1837–1844.

2d edit. Cambridge, 1846–1848, 8vo.

Perhaps the ablest and most valuable work ever published on this subject.

Review of vol. i. by STUART, Moses, *American Biblical Repository*, April 1838, pp. 266–343.

1838.

110. STRAUSS, D. F.

Das Leben Jesu, 3d edit. ; *see* above, 103.

He is not so certain about the spurious character of the fourth gospel as he was before.

111. GFROERER, August Friedrich.

Geschichte des Urchristenthums. Bd. iii. Das Heiligthum und die Wahrheit. Stuttgart, 1838.

For the genuineness.

112. LANGE, Johann Peter.

Ueber den unauflöslichen Zusammenhang zwischen der Individualität des Apostels Johannes und der Individualität der Apokalypse. Reprinted in his *Vermischte Schriften*, Meurs, vol. ii. (1841) pp. 173–231, where a footnote, p. 173, tells that it belongs to the year 1838.

Takes John to be certainly the author of the fourth gospel, p. 180.

113. KERN, Friedrich Heinrich.

Erörterung der Haupthatsachen der evangelischen Geschichte, in Rücksicht auf Strauss' Schrift 'Das Leben Jesu.' *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1838 (1836?), 2 Heft, pp. 3–176, especially pp. 41–71 and 151–176.

Printed separately, Tübingen, 1839.

Against Strauss.

114. WEISSE, Christian Hermann.

Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet. 2 Bde.

Leipzig, 1838, especially vol. i. pp. 96–138, and vol. ii. pp. 181–304.

Tries to get rid of John's Christ by distinguishing between 'studies' really John's and later work.

1839.

115. FROMMANN, Karl.

Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff in seinem Verhältnisse zur gesammten biblisch-christlichen Lehre dargestellt.

Leipzig, 1839.

For the genuineness, *see* p. 25 ff.

116. LANGE, Johann Peter. (O. P. printed.)

Die Authentie der vier Evangelien, erwiesen aus dem anerkannten Charakter der vier Evangelisten. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1839, pp. 7–68.

St. John, pp. 48–68.

117. DER PRESBYTER JOHANNES. Eine kritische Skizze. *Theologische Mitarbeiten*, Kiel, 1839 (2ter Jahrg.), Heft 4, pp. 3–40.

The gospel and 1st epistle by the apostle ; the 2d and 3d epistles, and perhaps the Apocalypse, by the presbyter.

118. KRABBE, Otto Carsten.

Vorlesungen über das Leben Jesu . . . mit Rücksicht auf das Leben Jesu von Strauss und die darauf sich beziehende Literatur. Hamburg, 1839.

He says, on p. 45, that if we had not a particle of external testimony, the very gospel itself, in its impression of a holy inspiration, would assure us that it came from the disciple who rested on Jesus' bosom.

1840.

119. FROMMANN, Karl.

Ueber die Ächtheit und Integrität des Evangel. Johannis, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Weisse's evangelische Geschichte. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840 (4 Heft), pp. 853–930.

For the entire genuineness, against Weisse.

- 119a. STUFFKEN, Janus Heinrich.

Werken van Teylers godgeleird Genootschap. Haarlem, 1840.

On the external testimony for John's gospel, *see* pp. 100, 128, 135.

120. STRAUSS, David Friedrich.

Das Leben Jesu, 4th edit. ; *see* above, 103. Takes back what he had admitted in the 3d edit. ; *see* above, 110.

121. STRAUSS, D. F.

Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft.

Tübingen and Stuttgart, 1840. Gospel of John, vol. i. pp. 194–196.

'They have begun to look at the fourth gospel again with cool eyes, and we shall hardly have to wait long for a work which will put the said gospel in its proper place,—a work which will proceed from sounder premises than the *Probabilia* (which took the synoptics to be genuine), and which will use the light thrown of late on the earliest history of the Church,' p. 196. *See* below, 130.

122. HASE, Karl.
Das Leben Jesu, 3d edit. ; *see above*, 93.
The gospel from John.
123. SCHENKEL, Daniel.
Ueber die neuesten Bearbeitungen des Lebens Jesu [Neander, 3d edit. ; Weisse, *Evang. Gesch.*, *see above*, 114 ; and Strauss' 3d edit., *see above*, 110] eine vergleichende Beurtheilung. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, pp. 736–808.
St. John, pp. 762–771.
Distinguishes between earlier and later matter in the fourth gospel.
124. LUECKE, F.
Commentary, 3d edit. 1st part, Bonn, 1840, pp. 6–160, especially 41–141 ; *see above*, 58.
125. HUG, Johann Leonhard.
Gutachten über das Leben Jesu . . . von Strauss.
Freiburg, 1840 ; 2d part, 1844. Reprinted in 1854, with a newly dated title-page.
126. FISCHER, Friedrich.
Ueber den Ausdruck *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* im Evangel. Johan. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik desselben. *Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1840, Zweites Heft, pp. 96–133.
127. REUSS, Eduard.
Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes. *Denkschrift der theologischen Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840, pp. 7–60.
128. NEUDECKER, Christian Gotthold.
Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament, mit Belegen aus den Quellschriften und Citaten aus der älteren und neuen Literatur.
Leipzig, 1840. St. John's gospel, part iii. §§ 42–51, pp. 278–335.

BRUNO BAUER.

129. BAUER, Bruno.
Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannis.
Bremen, 1840.

130. LUETZELBERGER, E. C. J.

Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes und seine Schriften in ihrer Grundlosigkeit nachgewiesen.

Leipzig, 1840.

'They must, of course, allow him to use his fancy a little here and there,' p. 210. 'The apostle John did not live at Ephesus or in Asia Minor,' pp. 168 and 198. John died before 55-57, p. 197. 'Our gospel written beyond the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of Edessa, by a philosophically educated Christian, who knew nothing of the other gospels,' p. 287. 'Our author wrote in the years from 130-135,' p. 291. Andrew is the disciple whom Jesus loved, and he is the one whose eye-witness gave certainty to the writer of this gospel, pp. 199-209.

It is said that Lützelberger visited Strauss in 1840, and that Strauss told him things from the *Dogmatik* which had not yet appeared at that date. Strauss, in his *Dogmatik* (see above, 121), prophesied that the man who would prove fully the spuriousness of the gospel of John would hardly fail to show himself soon. Lützelberger's book then was published, and the prophecy (?) was fulfilled. See Ebrard's *Wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1842, p. 1049 f. note, and *Darmstädter Kirchenzeitung*, January 1841.

1841.

131. SCHWEIZER, Alexander.

Das Evangelium Johannes nach seinem innern Werthe und seiner Bedeutung für das Leben Jesu kritisch untersucht.

Leipzig, 1841.

This gospel had two authors, p. 7. John wrote the original, pp. 234-276. The interpolations written after John's death, but before the original was published, p. 276; they are partly as reliable as and partly less reliable than the synoptists, p. 277.

131a. RUECKERT, Leopold Immanuel.

Ein Wink über unser viertes Evangelium.

Programme, Zittau, 1841, 4to, pp. 4.

The fourth gospel cannot be from John. Author a Jew, probably of Asia Minor,—a convert of Paul's, or at least a later follower of his doctrines, as the Logos doctrine is Paul's. The author put in Christ's mouth what he had heard from Paul.

Perhaps the oddest four pages ever written about this gospel.

132. SCHWEGLER, F. C. Albert.

Der Montanismus und die christliche Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Tübingen, 1841. *See* book II. part ii. 3.

Against the genuineness. Belief in the authenticity of the gospel of John is inversely proportional to belief in the authenticity of the Revelation, p. 213. The gospel from latter part of second century.

133. GLAIRE, Jean Baptiste.

Introduction Historique et Critique aux Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament.

Paris, 1841 (?); 1st edit. 6 vols. 1838; 2d, 1843; 3d, 1862. Abridged, 1st edit. 1846; 4th edit. 1865.

1842.

134. EBRARD, Johann Heinrich August.

Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte.

Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1842. *See* especially II. ii. c. 2, §§ 140-148, pp. 1005-1108. Spicily written.

'We may boldly declare that (excepting a few of Paul's epistles) no book of all antiquity, either in Christian or heathen literature, can show such numerous and sure proofs of its authenticity as the gospel of John,' p. 1108.

2d edit. 1850, pp. 828-952; 3d edit. 1868, §§ 146-151, pp. 1114-1226.

135. BAUER, Bruno.

Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker und des Johannes. Braunschweig, 1842. Gospel of John, vol. iii.

'In the fourth gospel we find the gospel history in its highest completion, and in its truth, and as a revealed mystery,' p. 340.

136. SCHWEGLER, F. C. A.

Die neueste Johanneische Literatur. Two articles:—

I. On Lücke's 3d edit. 1840—*see* above, 124; and on Schweizer, 1841—*see* above, 131.

II. On Bruno Bauer, *Kritik d. Evang. Gesch. d. Joh.*, 1840—*see* above, 129; and on Lützelberger, 1840—*see* above, 130.

Theologische Jahrbücher, Tübingen, 1842, 1 Heft, pp. 140-170, and 2 Heft, pp. 288-309.

137. BINDEMANN, C.

Ueber die von Justinus dem Märtyrer gebrauchten Evangelien ;
in beständiger Rücksicht auf die Abhandlung des Herrn
Dr. Credner über diesen Gegenstand in dem ersten Bande
der Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften.
Studien und Kritiken, 1842, pp. 355-482.

138. SCHNITZER, Karl Friedrich.

Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Einleitung in's Neue
Testament mit besonderen Rücksicht auf die Johanneische
Frage. *Theologische Jahrbücher*, Tübingen, 1842, pp. 425-473.

139. SCHNITZER, K. F.

Beiträge zur Johanneischen Kritik. *Theologische Jahrbücher*,
1842, pp. 627-654.

1843.

140. GUERICKE, H. E. F.

Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament.

Leipzig, 1843.

Genuineness of John's gospel well discussed and defended,
§ 41. 3, pp. 296-316.
2d edit. 1854.

141. GRIMM, Karl Ludwig Wilibald.

Article 'Johannes,' in Ersch und Gruber's *Allgemeine Ency-
klopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*. 2ter section, 22ter
Theil. Leipzig, 1843.

Johannes-Evangelium, pp. 1-78 ; see p. 18 ff. For the
genuineness.

142. KOESTLIN, Karl Reinhold.

Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis und
die verwandten neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe.

Berlin, 1843.

143. BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS, Ludwig Friedrich Otto.

Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften.

Vol. i. Jena, 1843.

Authenticity, pp. x.-xxxv. Gospel genuine ; even if written
down by some one else or worked up by some one else than
John, this must have been done in John's own circle, and so
early as to be in his mind and tone.

144. MAIER, Adalbert.

Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes.

Vol. i. Carlsruhe and Freiburg, 1843.

Genuineness defended, pp. 65-131.

144a. WIESELER, Karl.

Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien. Ein Beitrag zur Apologie der Evangelien und evangelische Geschichte vom Standpunkte der Voraussetzungslosigkeit.

Hamburg, 1843.

145. THENIUS, Otto.

Das Evangelium ohne die Evangelien. Ein offenes Sendschreiben an Herrn Bruno Bauer. Leipzig, 1843.

1844.

BAUR.

146. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.

Ueber die Composition und Charakter des Johanneischen Evangeliums. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.

Tübingen, 1844, pp. 1-191. 2d part, pp. 397-475. Conclusion, pp. 615-700.

This gospel a partisan book. The earliest possible date for it is 160.

This was republished in a fresh shape in his *Kritische Untersuchungen*, u.s.w.; see below, 162.

147. SCHARLING, Karl Emil.

Commentatio, in qua quæritur, num quas res auctor evangelii Joannei memoriæ tradiderit, iis fidem et auctoritatem historicam vindicare voluerit.

Copenhagen, 1844. Programme.

148. MERZ, Heinrich.

Zur Johanneischen Frage, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Herrn Dr. v. Baur's Abhandlung über das J. Evangelium. *Studien der evangelischen Geistlichkeit Württembergs* (Bd. xvi. Heft 2), 1844, pp. 3-103.

Against Baur. For the genuineness.

149. GLAIRE, Jean Baptiste.

Essai sur l'authenticité des quatre Versions Canoniques de l'Évangile. Paris, 1844, 8vo.

149a. STRAUSS, David Friedrich.

Charakteristiken und Kritiken. Leipzig, 1844.

See preface, pp. v.-vii., for Strauss' changes of feeling about the fourth gospel. See also in the same, 'Schriften über den Ursprung des ersten kanonischen Evangeliums,' pp. 234-285 (reprinted from *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1834, November, pp. 761-796, 801-808); pp. 236, 237 on the relation of attacks upon the genuineness of John and of the synoptists.

1845.

150. EBRARD, J. H. A.

Das Evangelium Johannis und die neueste Hypothese über seine Entstehung. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Evangelien. Zürich, 1845, 8vo, pp. 217 (1).

Against Baur. For the genuineness.

151. ZELLER, Eduard.

Die äusseren Zeugnisse über das Dasein und den Ursprung des vierten Evangeliums. Eine Prüfung der kirchlichen Tradition bis auf Irenæus. *Theologische Jahrbücher*. Tübingen, 1845, pp. 577-656.

(In same vol., pp. 75-100, a review of Köstlin's book of 1843, above.)

The gospel cannot be traced back beyond 170.

152. THIERSCH, Heinrich W. J.

Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften. Eine Streitschrift gegen die Kritiker unserer Tage.

Erlangen, 1845, pp. xii.-xxv., 241 ff.

For the genuineness.

Reviewed in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1849, pp. 133-152.

153. HASERT,
Anonymus).

(Philosophos Alethias, 'The Saxon

Die Evangelien, ihr Geist, ihre Verfasser, und ihr Verhältniss

zu einander. Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der kritischen Fragen über die Entstehung derselben. Leipzig, 1845, pp. 371–426.

The author succeeded in concealing his identity until about March 1875.

154. SCHLEIERMACHER, Friedrich Daniel Ernst.
Einleitung ins Neue Testament. Berlin, 1845.

This is vol. viii. of his complete works, and vol. iii. of the part on theology.

John's Gospel, §§ 80–84, pp. 315–344. For the genuineness.

155. ROBINSON, Edward.
The Alleged Discrepancy between John and the other Evangelists respecting our Lord's last Passover. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. ii. pp. 405–435. Andover, 1845.

1846.

156. BLEEK, Friedrich.
Beiträge zur Evangelien Kritik. Berlin, 1846.

This is the first volume of *Beiträge zur Einleitung und Auslegung der heiligen Schrift*, and for the most part bears upon John.

157. HAUFF, Carl Victor.
Einige Bemerkungen über die Abhandlung von D. v. Baur über die Composition und den Charakter des Johanneischen Evangeliums. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1846, pp. 550–629.
Against Baur; see above, 146. For the genuineness.

158. NORTON, Andrews.
The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. 2d edit.; see above, 109.

159. SCHWEGLER, F. C. A.
Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung.
2 vols., Tübingen, 1846. Gospel of John, vol. ii. pp. 346–374.

'The gospel of John is the last and focal point of the doctrinal developments of the church in Asia Minor during the age after the apostles,' p. 346. It arose about the middle of the second century, p. 354. It was the crown of the development of Ebionism to Catholicism, p. 374.

160. KLING, Christian Friedrich.

Review of Ebrard, *Wiss. Krit. d. Ev.-Ges.* 1842, *see above*, 134.

„ Ebrard, *Das Ev. Joh.* 1845, „ 150.

„ Merz, *Zur Joh. Frage*, 1844, „ 148.

„ Wieseler, *Chron. Syn. d. 4 Ev.* 1843, „ 144a.

Studien und Kritiken, 1846, pp. 949–1028.

161. BAUR, F. C.

Der Kritiker und der Fanatiker, in der Person des Herrn
Heinrich W. J. Thiersch. *Zur Charakteristik der neuesten
Theologie.* Stuttgart, 1846.

161a. THIERSCH, H. W. J.

Einige Worte über die *Æchtheit* der neutestamentlichen
Schriften und ihre Erweisbarkeit aus der ältesten Kirchen-
geschichte gegenüber den Hypothesen der neuesten Kritiker.
Zur Erwiderung auf die Schrift des Herrn Professor Dr.
F. Chr. Baur in Tübingen, ‘Der Kritiker und der Fanatiker,’
u.s.w. Erlangen, 1846.

Gospel of John, pp. 128–140.

1847.

162. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.

Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien,
ihr Verhältniss zu einander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung.
Tübingen, 1847. *See above*, 146, 161.

On the author of the gospel of John, *see pp.* 327–389.

163. GRIMM, Karl Ludwig Wilibald.

Ueber das Evangelium und den ersten Brief des Johannes als
Werke Eines und desselben Verfassers. *Studien und Kritiken*,
1847, pp. 171–187.

Answered in part by Zeller, in 165, below ; he promised to
answer further, but did not. Baur treated the subject, how-
ever, in 170, below.

164. BAUR, F. C.

Bemerkungen zur Johanneischen Frage, besonders in Betreff
des Todestages Jesu und der Passahfeier der ältesten Kirche.
Gegen Herrn Dr. Bleek. *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1847, pp.
89–136.

165. ZELLER, Eduard.
 Einige weitere Bemerkungen über die äussere Bezeugung des vierten Evangeliums. Ein Zusatz des Herausgebers zu den vorstehenden Abhandlung. *See* 163. *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1847, pp. 136–174.
 John's account 'can in no case be considered the source of Justin's.'
166. PAREAU, Ludwig Gerl.
 Aanwizing van het verschil, dat er bestaat tusschen de leer en leerwijze van Jezus bij Johannes en van Johannes zelven vooral in zijne brieven. *Waarheid in Liefde*, 1847, p. 478 ff.
167. PFITZENMEYER, J. F.
 Aperçu des Controverses sur l'Authenticité du quatrième Évangile, depuis 1820.
 These . . . pour obtenir le Grade de Bachelier en Theologie. Strasbourg, 1847.
 For the genuineness.
168. HUG, J. L.
 Einleitung in . . . N. T. 4th edit. ; *see* above, 36.
- 168a. WIESELER, Karl.
 Der Kanon des Neuen Testaments von Muratori von Neuem verglichen und im Zusammenhange erläutert. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1847, pp. 815–857.
 For John's gospel and epistles, *see* pp. 835 and 845 f.
- 1848.
169. WEITZEL, K. L.
 Die Christliche Passahfeier der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Urchristenthums und zur Evangelien-Kritik. Mit einem Anhang: Die Passahfragmente im Originaltext. Pforzheim, 1848.
 Against Baur.
170. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.
 Das johanneische Evangelium und die Passahfeier des zweiten Jahrhunderts. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.
 Tübingen, 1848, pp. 264–286.

171. BAUR, F. C.

Die johanneische Briefe, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kanons.
Theologische Jahrbücher, 1848, p. 293 ff.

The gospel and epistles not from the same author. Answered
 by Grimm, *see* below, 177.

172. VIGUIÉ, Ariste.

Authenticité de l'Évangile de Saint Jean.

Montauban, 1848, pp. 40.

173. SEMISCH, Carl Ænotheus.

Die apostolische Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justin.
 Zur Geschichte und Æchtheit der kanonischen Evangelien.
 Hamburg and Gotha, 1848.

For review, *see* below, 188.

174. DE WETTE, W. M. L.

Lehrbuch der . . . Einleitung in . . . N. T. 5th edit. ; *see*
 above, 81.

Follows Bleek's *Beiträge*, *see* above, 156 ; more decidedly
 for the genuineness than before.

1849.

HILGENFELD.

175. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis, nach ihren Lehrbe-
 griff dargestellt. Halle, 1849.

The gospel of John is at the transition from Valentinus' to
 Marcion's Gnosticism.

176. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Der Paschastreit und das Evangelium Johannis mit Rücksicht
 auf Weitzel's Darstellung. *See* Weitzel, above, 169. *Theo-*
logische Jahrbücher, 1849, pp. 209-281.

177. GRIMM, Karl Ludwig Wilibald.

Ueber den ersten Brief des Johannes und sein Verhältniss zum
 vierten Evangelium. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1849, pp. 269-303.

Against Baur ; *see* above, 170.

178. WEITZEL, K. L.
Das Selbstzeugniss des vierten Evangelisten über seine Person.
Studien und Kritiken, 1849, pp. 578-638.
- 178a. HAUFF, C. V.
Bemerkungen über einige Stellen des vierten Evangeliums.
Studien und Kritiken, 1849, pp. 106-130.
In treating of John vii., on pp. 121-130, he opposes Zeller
(see above, 151) and Baur.
- 1850.
179. BAUER, Bruno.
Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs.
Berlin, 1850, 1851.
180. NIERMEYER, Antonie.
Opmerking tot staving der geloofwaardigheid van de synoptische
evangelien, ontleend aan dat van Johannes. *Magazijn voor
Kritiek en Exegese des N. T.*, 1850, p. 127 ff.
181. NIERMEYER, Antonie.
Aanmerkingen betreffende de echtheid van het Evangelie van
Johannes. *Magazijn voor Kritiek en Exegese des N. T.*, 1850,
p. 322 ff.
182. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der
Clementinischen Homilien und Marcion's. Ein Beitrag zur
Geschichte der ältesten Evangelien-Literatur.
Halle, 1850.
183. HILGENFELD, A.
Die alttestamentliche Citate Justin's in ihrer Bedeutung für
die Untersuchung über seine Evangelien. *Theologische Jahr-
bücher*. Tübingen, 1850, pp. 385-439, and 567-578.
184. EBRARD, J. H. A.
Wissenschaftliche Kritik, etc., 2d edit. See above, 134.
Origin of John's gospel, §§ 138-147, pp. 828-952.
185. RAUCH, J. H. G.
Die Burschen Ansichten über das Evangelium Johannis

geprüft an der Geschichte der wunderbaren Speisung Johannes vi. *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, 1850, October and November. See below, 189.

186. KOESTLIN, Karl Reinhold.

Zur Geschichte des Urchristenthums. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.
Tübingen, 1850, pp. 1-62.

After Justin, 'finally the fourth evangelist, who, unmoved by all opposition, wishes to solve and reconcile all contrariety in the comprehensive totality of the Christian principle of a firm holding to a centre, to Christ himself,' p. 62.

187. BAUR, F. C.

Die Einleitung in das Neue Testament als theologische Wissenschaft. *Theologische Jahrbücher*. Tübingen, 1850, 1851.

John's gospel, 1850, pp. 556-563; 1851, pp. 88-93 and 295-300.

1851.

188. GRIMM, Karl Ludwig Wilibald.

Review of Semisch; see above, 173. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1851, pp. 669-702.

This is dated 18th April 1850, and hence as to the author belongs in that year.

188a. KOESTLIN, K. R.

Die pseudonyme Literatur der ältesten Kirche, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bildung des Kanons. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.
Tübingen, 1851, pp. 149-221, especially p. 183 ff.

St. John's gospel from the second quarter of the second century. The history freely made up from the Christian consciousness.

189. NIERMEYER, Antonie.

De denkbeelden van Baur omtrent het Evangelie van Johannes getoetst aan de geschiedenis der wonderbare spijziging Joh. vi. *Magazijn voor Kritik en Exegese des N. T.*, 1851, p. 60 ff.
See above, 185.

190. NIERMEYER, Antonie.
Bijdragen ter verdediging van de echtheid der Johanneische
Schriften. *Magazijn voor Kritick en Exegese des N. T.*, 1851,
pp. 289–338.
191. RITSCHL, Albrecht.
Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kritik der synoptischen
Evangelien. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.
Tübingen, 1851, p. 500 ff. See also below, 243.
The gospel from John. The measure of use is not the
measure of its earlier or later origin.
192. GRAS, Alphonse.
(An Essay or Dissertation on the Genuineness of the Gospel of
John.) 1851.
- 192a. COLANI, Timothée.
Des quatre évangiles canoniques considérés comme documents
historiques de la vie de Jésus-Christ, 3ème article. *Revue de
Théologie* (Colani).
Paris, vol. ii. 1851, January, pp. 22–56.
The first and second articles, vol. i. pp. 223–243, 294–316,
are on the synoptists.
- 192b. KAYSER, Auguste.
L'École de Baur ; son Point de Vue général. *Revue de Théologie*
(Colani). Paris, vol. ii. 1851, May, pp. 257–285.
For John's gospel, see pp. 274–285.
- 192c. TROTTER, Jean Pierre.
De l'Autorité et de l'Inspiration des écrits sacrés. *Revue de
Théologie* (Colani).
Paris, vol. iii. 1851, December, pp. 363–377.
For John's gospel, see pp. 371, 372.
193. STOWE, Calvin Ellis.
The Four Gospels as we now have them in the New Testament,
and the Hegelian Assaults upon them. *Bibliotheca Sacra*.
Andover, vol. viii. 1851, pp. 503–524 ; vol. ix. 1852, pp.
77–108.
194. EWALD, Heinrich.
Ursprung und Wesen der Evangelien. 5. Die verklärung des
Evangelischen schriftthumes. *Jahrbücher der Biblischen
wissenschaft*, vol. iii. 1850–1851, pp. 146–174.

1852.

VOLKMAR.

195. VOLKMAR, Gustav.
 Das Evangelium Marcions. Text und Kritik mit Rücksicht auf die Evangelien des Märtyrers Justin, der Clementinen, und der apostolischen Väter. Eine neue Revision der neuern Untersuchungen nach den Quellen selbst zur Textesbestimmung und Erklärung des Lucas-Evangeliums.
 Leipzig, 1852.
196. NIERMEYER, Antonie.
 Verhandelning over de Echtheid der Johanneische Schriften. Bekroond bij het Haagsche Genootschap tot Verdediging von de Christelijke Godsdienst. Gravenhage, 1852.
 This is the thirteenth part of the works of this Society.
197. NIERMEYER, Antonie.
 Bijdragen ter verdediging van de Echtheid der Johanneische Schriften. Schoonhover, 1852.
 Pages 1-50 are a reprint of the article of 1851—see above, 190; pp. 51-134 are about the epistles.
198. NIERMEYER, A.
 Het belang van *Orig. philosophoumena* voor de Kritick des N. Ts. bepaaldelijk der Johanneische Schriften. *Magazijn voor Kritick en Ezegese des N. T.*, 1852, p. 85 ff.
199. THIERSCH, H. W. J.
 Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter und die Entstehung der neutestamentlichen Schriften.
 Frankfort-on-the-Main and Erlangen, 1852.
 Genuineness of John's gospel, p. 273 f.
200. BRUECKNER, Benno Bruno.
 4th edit. of De Wette's *Kurze Erklärung*, etc.; see above, 107.
201. MERENS, F. G.
 De ultimâ Christi sermonum authentia. 1852.
202. NEANDER, J. A. W.
 Das Leben Jesu, etc. 5th edit.; see above, 106.
203. LUTHARDT, Christoph Ernst.
 Das Johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit geschildert und erklärt. Nuremberg, 1852, 1853.

No discussion of the origin in this first edition.
2d edit. vol. i. 1875. An English edition is to be issued in
Clark's 'Foreign Theological Library,' Edinburgh, 1876.

204. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Ueber das eigenthümliche Evangelium Justin's. *Theologische
Jahrbücher.* Tübingen, 1852, pp. 400-419.
He used the Petrine gospel.
205. MAIER, Adalbert.
Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.
Freiburg in the Breisgau, 1852.
Gospel of John, §§ 31-39, pp. 121-163.
206. REITHMAYR, Franz Xaver.
Einleitung in die canonischen Bücher des neuen Bundes.
Regensburg, 1852.
Gospel of John, iv. Abtheilung, §§ 66-71, pp. 412-463.

1853.

207. REUSS, Eduard.
Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments.
4th edit. 1864. Gospel of John, etc., §§ 217-226, pp.
213-225.
5th edit. Braunschweig, 1874. Gospel and epistles of John,
1te Abtheil. §§ 213-229, pp. 217-238.
208. TROOST, Janus Breunissen.
Disquisitio de Discipulo, quem in quarto evangelio dilexisse
Jesus dicitur. Leyden, 1853.
Thesis for doctorate in theology.
209. TIELE, Cornelius Petrus.
Specimen theologicum continens annotationem in locos non-
nullos evangelii Johannei ad vindicandam hujus evangelii
authentiam. Inest excursus de capite xxi.
Amsterdam, 1853, 8vo, pp. 158.
210. EWALD, Heinrich.
Ueber die äussern Zeugnisse für das Johannisevangelium.
Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft, V. (1852-1853).
Göttingen, 1853, pp. 178-207.
211. DA COSTA, Izaak.
De Apostel Johannes en zijne Schriften. Eene bijbelstudie.
Amsterdam, 1853, 2dln. 8vo.

212. JACOBI, Justus Ludwig.
Die Philosophoumena und ihr Zeugniß vom Evangelium des Johannes. *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft*, 1853, Nr. 24 f.
213. DELITZSCH, Franz.
Neue Untersuchungen über Entstehung und Anlage der kanonischen Evangelien. Erster Theil, Das Matthäus-Evangelium. Leipzig, 1853.
On the relations of the authenticity of John and Matthew, see pp. 47, 48. See BAUR, below, 218.
214. VOLKMAR, Gustav.
Ueber Justin den Märtyrer und sein Verhältniss zu unsern Evangelien. Ein Programm. Zürich, 1853.
215. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.
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3d edit. Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte, the first volume of *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, 1863.
Gospel of John, pp. 146-174.
216. ZELLER, Eduard.
Ueber die Citate aus dem vierten Evangelium, welche in den Auszügen gnostiker Schriften in dem pseudo-origenistischen *ἑλεγχος κατὰ πασῶν αἰρέσεων* vorkommen. *Theologische Jahrbücher*. Tübingen, 1853, pp. 144-152.
1854.
217. HASE, Karl August.
Das Leben Jesu, 4th edit.; see above, 93.
218. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.
Die Johanneische Frage und ihre neueste Beantwortungen (durch Luthardt, Delitzsch, Brückner, Hase). *Theologische Jahrbücher*. Tübingen, 1854, pp. 196-287.
219. HOCÉDÉ, Alf.
(Dissertation on the Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel.) 1854.
220. VOLKMAR, Gustav.
Ein neu entdecktes Zeugniß für das Johannes Evangelium. *Theologische Jahrbücher*. Tübingen, 1854, pp. 446-462.
Because the Clementina used John's gospel, it does not follow that Justin used it.

221. **MAYER, Georg Karl.**
 Die *Æchtheit* des Evangeliums nach Johannes.
 Schaffhausen, 1854, 8vo, pp. xii., 467.
222. **HILGENFELD, Adolf.**
 Die Evangelien, nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung.
 Leipzig, 1854.
 On the origin of John's gospel, pp. 336–347.
 'Nothing opposes the assumption that it arose about in the years 120–140,' p. 347.
223. **GUERICKE, Heinrich Ernst Ferdinand.**
 Gesamtgeschichte des Neuen Testaments oder Neutestamentliche Isagogik. Der historisch kritischen Einleitung ins N. T. 2te völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. *See above*, 140.
 Leipzig, 1854.
 Gospel of John, § 17, pp. 169–206.
224. **SCHNEIDER, K. F. Th.**
 Die *Æchtheit* des johanneischen Evangeliums nach den äusseren Zeugnissen.
 Berlin, 1854, 8vo, pp. vi., 61.
- 224a. **RÉVILLE, Albert.**
 Jean le Prophète et Jean l'Évangéliste. La crise de la foi chez un apôtre. *Revue de Théologie* (Colani). Paris.
 1er article, vol. ix. 1854, pp. 324–363.
 2ème article, vol. x. 1855, pp. 1–24.
See especially vol. ix. pp. 343–354. 'John the apostle is the author of the fourth gospel.'

1855.

225. **SCHOLTEN, Johann Heinrich.**
 Kritische Inleiding tot de Schriften des N. T.
 Leyden, 1855, pp. 41–60. 2d edit. 1856, pp. 120–167.
 The translator owes thanks to Professor Scholten for his kindness in sending a large number of titles for this and for the general literature of the fourth gospel.
- 225a. **SCHOLTEN, J. H.**
 Article 'Schriften van den apostel Johannes,' in *Bijbelsch woordenboek* uitgegeven door W. Moll, P. J. Veth, en F. J. Domela Nieuwenhuis.
 Amsterdam, 1855, vol. ii. pp. 173–189.
 Gospel of John, pp. 179–188. For the authenticity.

226. HASE, Karl August.
Die Tübinger Schule. Ein Sendschreiben an Herrn Dr. Ferdinand Christian v. Baur, ersten Professor d. evang. Theol. a. d. Univ. Tübingen, Ritter des Ordens der würtemb. Krone.
Leipzig, 1855.
Gospel of John, pp. 1 (-24)-59.
227. BAUR, F. C.
An Herrn Dr. Karl Hase, Prof. der Theol. a. d. Univ. Jena, H. S. A. Geh. Kirchenrath, Ritter des G. S. W. O. vom weissen Falken. Beantwortung des Sendschreibens—die Tübinger Schule.
Tübingen, 1855.
Gospel of John, pp. 5-70.
228. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Das Urchristenthum in den Hauptwendepunkten seines Entwicklungsganges mit besondrer Rücksicht auf die neuesten Verhandlungen der Herren DD. Hase und v. Baur.
Jena, 1855.
229. ZELLER, Eduard.
Noch ein Wort über den Ausspruch Jesu bei Justin 'Apol. i. 61,' über die Wiedergeburt. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.
Tübingen, 1855, pp. 138-140.
230. TIELE, Cornelius Petrus.
Het evangelie van Johannes. Amsterdam, 1855.
231. WEISSE, Christian Hermann.
Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Evangelienkritik und Ewalds Geschichte Christi und seiner zeit. *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1855, Nr. 44 ff.
Johannean studies (prologue, different discourses, etc.) lie at the base of the gospel, and a later hand worked it up. Historically it is inferior to the synoptists, and especially to the original gospel Mark.
- 231a. SCHERER, Edmond.
Les Procédés de la Critique Interne. *Revue de Théologie* (Colani). Paris, 1855, November, vol. xi. pp. 299-319.
John's gospel, see pp. 310-319. See note on p. 318: 'Speaking exactly, there can be no question as to the authenticity of the fourth gospel, but only as to its apostolic origin, or as to the value of the tradition which attributes it to John.'

- 231b. CLAUSEN, Heinrich Nicolai.
Johannesevangeliet fortolket. Copenhagen, 1855.
Inledning, pp. 1–39.
1856.
232. SCHOLTEN, J. H.
Kritische Inleiding, etc. 2d edit. ; *see above*, 225.
233. WEISSE, C. H.
Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium.
Leipzig, 1856. Reprint of the articles above, 231.
Gospel of John, pp. 16–62, 111–132.
234. SLOTEMAKER, Lambert Hendrik.
Disquisitio, qua comparatis Evangelii quarti et Synopticorum
locis, utrorumque fides historica confirmatur.
Leyden, 1856, 8vo, pp. (vi.), iv., (2), 124, (1).
Thesis for doctorate in theology.
235. EBRARD, J. H. A.
Johannes der Apostel, und seine Schriften. *Herzog's Real-
Encyclopädie*, vol. vi. 1856, pp. 722–737.
For the genuineness.
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Weitere untersuchungen über Johannes' Enthüllung (Apo-
kalypse). *Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft*, vol. viii.
1856, pp. 76–118 ; *see* p. 100 ff. Also a review of Weisse,
see above, 231, *ibid.* pp. 186–191.
- 236a. AGARDH, C. A.
Om de heliga evangeliernas uppkomst och sanning.
Stockholm, 1856.
(Motto : 'There is no real beginning of life in nature or in
the world of mind which has not something mysterious and
unexplained about it.'—ULLMANN.)
John's gospel, pp. 72, 158–167.
237. LUTHARDT, Christoph Ernst.
Justin der Märtyrer und das Evangelium Johannis. *Zeitschrift
für Protestantismus und Kirche*, 1856.
Neue Folge, Bd. xxxi. pp. 302–327, 350–400.
„ Bd. xxxii. pp. 68–115.

238. STEITZ, Georg Eduard.

Die Differenz der Occidentalen und der Kleinasiaten in der Paschafeier aufs Neue kritisch untersucht und im Zusammenhange mit der gesammten Festordnung der alten Kirche entwickelt. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1856, pp. 721–809.

Against Baur.

239. SCHOLTEN, Johann Heinrich.

De sterfdag Jezus volgens het 4de evangelie en de paschastrijd tusschen Klein-Azië en Rome. *Godgeleerde Bijdragen*, 1856, p. 96 ff.

239a. RÉVILLE, Albert.

Le quatrième Évangile et la Controverse pascalle au second siècle. *Revue de Théologie* (Colani).

Paris, 1856, July, vol. xiii. pp. 1–34. See p. 34.

Review of Scholten, 239, above.

240. LECHLER, Gotthard Victor.

Review of Niermeyer; see above, 196.

„ Mayer, G. K.; „ 221.

„ Schneider; „ 224.

Studien und Kritiken, 1856, pp. 867–911.

241. MEYER, H. A. W.

Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch über das Evangelium des Johannes. 3d edit. 1856.

241a. KAYSER, Auguste.

L'École de Tubingue et l'Évangile selon Saint Jean. *Revue de Théologie* (Colani). Paris, 1856, vol. xii.

First article, April, pp. 217–233.

Second article, May, pp. 257–277.

John's gospel must have been written in the apostolic age, p. 277.

Third article, August, vol. xiii. pp. 65–85.

Not so sure of the authenticity of the fourth gospel as other writers for the *Revue de Théologie* are, p. 85.

241b. BUSKEN-HUET.

De l'Authenticité des Écrits Johanniques d'après Antonie Niermeyer. *Revue de Théologie* (Colani). Paris, 1856.

Premier article, vol. xii. pp. 305–338.

Second article, vol. xiii. pp. 35–63.

The gospel and the Revelation are authentic, and from St. John.

1857.

242. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.

Zur johanneischen Frage : 1. über Justin d. M. gegen Luthardt ;
2. über den Passahstreit gegen Steitz. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.
Tübingen, 1857, pp. 209–257.

It cannot be proved that Justin used John's gospel, p. 234.
This gospel may have then existed, but was too new to be of
any importance to Justin, p. 238.

243. RITSCHL, Albrecht.

Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche.

2d edit. Bonn, 1857.

Gospel of John genuine ; it is most easily explained thus,
and it is necessary to fill up the synoptic accounts, pp. 48, 49,
note.

244. BAUR, F. C.

Das Verhältniss des ersten johanneischen Briefs zum johanneischen Evangelium. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.

Tübingen, 1857, pp. 315–331.

245. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Die Evangelienfrage und ihre neuesten Behandlungen von
Weisse, Volkmar, und Meyer. *Theologische Jahrbücher*.

Tübingen, 1857, pp. 381–440 and 498–532.

246. (—). Concerning Baur and others on the fourth gospel.)

National Review, 1857, July, pp. 82–127.

247. STEITZ, Georg Eduard.

Das angebliche Zeugniß des Melito von Sardes für das johan-

neische Evangelium. Ein kritisches Referat über die von Pitra edirte 'S. Melitonis clavis.' *Studien und Kritiken*, 1857, pp. 584–596.

Melito of Sardis of no use to prove the genuineness of this gospel.

248. STEITZ, G. E.

Einige weitere Bemerkungen über den Paschastreit des zweiten Jahrhunderts, gegen D. Baur. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1857, pp. 741–782.

Answers Baur ; *see above*, 242.

249. VOLKMAR, Gustav.

Religion Jesu. Leipzig, 1857, pp. 433–476.

250. THOLUCK, A. F. T.

Commentar zum Evangelium Johannis.

5th edit. Gotha, 1857. *See above*, 85.

WEIZSAECKER.

251. WEIZSAECKER, Carl Heinrich von.

Das Selbstzeugniss des johanneischen Christus. Ein Beitrag zur Christologie. *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*.

Stuttgart, 1857, pp. 154–208.

1858.

252. KOESSING, Fr.

De suprema Christi coena.

Heidelberg, 1858.

253. VOLKMAR, Gustav.

Geschichtstreue Theologie und ihre Gegner oder neues Licht und neues Leben. Zürich, 1858.

254. TOBLER, Johann Rudolf.

Die Evangelienfrage im allgemeinen und die Johannisfrage insbesondere. Eine Denkschrift zur Erinnerung an den 25 jährigen Bestand der Universität Zürich. Zürich, 1858.

Says Apollos wrote this gospel.

255. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Noch ein Wort über den Paschastreit. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1858, p. 151 ff.

256. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.

Entgegnung gegen Herrn Dr. G. E. Steitz über den Paschasstreit der alten kirche. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1858, pp. 298–312.

It will be seen that the *Theologische Jahrbücher* have fallen out, and that the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* has in a measure taken their place; Baur and Hilgenfeld both writing in the former in 1857, and both in the first volume of the latter in 1858. The latter is, in Germany, often called *Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift*, as the former were called *Zeller's Jahrbücher*.

257. UHLHORN, Gerhard.

Die älteste Kirchengeschichte in der Darstellung der Tübinger Schule. Eine Uebersicht. *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*. Stuttgart, 1858, pp. 280–349.

258. UHLHORN, Gerhard.

Die älteste Kirchengeschichte in den neuesten Darstellungen, Dietlein, Lechler, Trautmann, Schaff, Thiersch, Baumgarten, Lange, Ritschl. Eine Uebersicht. *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1858, pp. 492–531.

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259. WEIZSAECKER, Carl Heinrich von.

Beiträge zur Charakteristik des johanneischen Evangeliums. *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 685–767.

260. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Die beiden neuesten Stimmen aus Zürich über Evangelienkritik, beurtheilt. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 252–271.

261. HILGENFELD, A.

Das Johannes-Evangelium und seine gegenwärtigen Auffassungen. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 281–348 and 385–448.

262. STEITZ, Georg Eduard.

Ueber den Gebrauch des Pronomen *ἐκείνου* im vierten Evangelium, zum Entscheidung über die streitige Stelle, xix. 35. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1859, pp. 497–506.

263. STEITZ, G. E.

Der ästhetische Charakter der Eucharistie und des Fastens in der alten Kirche. Letztes Wort über den Paschastreit gegen die Herren DD. Baur und Hilgenfeld. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1859, pp. 716–740.

264. STEITZ, G. E.

Pascha. Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. xi.
Gotha, 1859, pp. 140–169.

265. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.

Die Tübinger Schule und ihre Stellung zur Gegenwart.
Tübingen, 1859.

2d edit. 1860; *see below*, 267.

1860.

266. EWALD, Heinrich.

Ueber die zweifel an der abkunft des vierten Evangeliums und der drei Sendschreiben vom Apostel Johannes. *Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft*, vol. x. 1860, pp. 83–114.

Die Geschichte dieser Zweifel, pp. 100–108. Ueber Christi irdische Heimat nach Johannes, pp. 108–114.

267. BAUR, F. C.

Die Tübinger Schule, etc. 2te neu durchgesehene und mit einigen Zusätzen vermehrte Auflage.

Tübingen, 1860. *See above*, 265.

Gospel of John, pp. 85–171; against Weisse, Weizsäcker, and Ewald.

The author died 2d December 1860.

268. TOBLER, Johann Rudolf (printed J. T.).

Ueber den Ursprung des vierten Evangeliums. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, pp. 169–203.

Apollos the author of the fourth gospel.

269. DE WETTE, W. M. L.

Lehrbuch der . . . Einleitung in d. kan. Bücher d. N. T.

6th edit. Berlin, 1860; *see above*, 81. *See pp.* 209–240.

270. CREDNER, Carl August.

Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanon. Herausgegeben von Dr. G. Volkmar.
Berlin, 1860.

'Justin knew our canonical gospels, but used them little or not at all directly,' p. 9.

271. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.

Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte.

2d edit. 1860; *see above*, 215.

Gospel of John, pp. 146-172.

272. VOLKMAR, Gustav.

Berichtigung zur äusseren Bezeugung des Johannes-Evangeliums. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, pp. 293-300.

Against Tobler.

'Justin's Logos doctrine and his nature in general stand before the Logos gospel,' p. 300.

273. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche nach seiner Bedeutung für die Kirchengeschichte und für Evangelienforschung urkundlich dargestellt. Halle, 1860.

'The possibility that the fourth gospel was known to Justin cannot be disputed,' p. 209, note.

Compare *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1867, p. 195.

274. LANGE, Johann Peter.

Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet. Bonn, 1860.

4th part of *Bibel-Werk*. 2d edit. 1861. 3d edit. Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1868; *see* SCHAFF, Philip, below, 447.

275. BUTTMANN, Alexander.

Ueber den Gebrauch des Pron. *ἐκείνο* im vierten Evangelium. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1860, pp. 505-536.

Against Steitz's article; *see above*, 262.

1861.

276. STEITZ, Georg Eduard.

Der klassische und der johanneische Gebrauch von *ἐκείνο*. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1861, pp. 267-310.

Against 275, above.

277. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Das neueste Steitzianum über den Passahstreit beleuchtet. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1861, pp. 106-110.

278. HILGENFELD, A.
Die Evangelien-Forschung nach ihrem Verlaufe und gegenwärtigen Stande. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1861, pp. 137-204.
279. HILGENFELD, A.
Der Quartodecimanismus Kleinasiens und die kanonischen Evangelien. *Ibidem*, pp. 285-318.
280. KAHNIS, Karl Friedrich August.
Die lutherische Dogmatik historisch genetisch dargestellt.
Leipzig, 1861. See vol. i. pp. 416-423. For the genuineness.
281. EBRARD, Johann Heinrich August.
Das Evangelium des Johannes. Königsberg, 1861.
The first part of the second volume of Olshausen's Commentary, worked over by Ebrard.
282. FREYTAG, Gustav Adolph.
Die heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments, mit Bezugnahme auf Lehre und Cultus kritisch beleuchtet für gebildete Protestanten, insonderheit für die kirchlichen Vertreter der Gemeinden. Berlin, 1861.
283. ABERLE, Moriz.
Ueber den Zweck des Johannisevangelium. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1861, p. 37 ff.
284. LANGE, J. P.
Das Evangelium nach Johannes, etc. 2d edit.; see above, 274.
1862.
285. EWALD, Heinrich.
Die Johanneischen Schriften uebersetzt und erklärt. Vol. ii. (vol. i. 1861). Göttingen, 1862, pp. 400-409.
'We must declare that no author of a book of antiquity is so surely attested as the apostle John for this gospel,' p. 409.
286. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Die Evangelienfrage und ihre neuesten Bearbeitungen. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1862, pp. 1-45.
287. BUTTMANN, Alexander.
Einige Worte der Erwiderung an H. Dr. Steitz. *Ibidem*, pp. 204-215.
On the use of *ἐκείνο*, see above, 276.

288. BLEEK, Friedrich.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Herausgegeben von Joh. Friedr. Bleek, Cand. min. Berlin, 1860.

Second part of *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*.

Gospel of John, pp. 138–160, 177–236, 292–309; 2d edit. 1866, pp. 141 ff., 179 ff., 296 ff. The part on John was translated into French with the following title: 'Étude critique sur l'Évangile selon Saint Jean,' Paris, 1864.

The whole work was translated into English by W. Urwick, and published in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1869, 1870.

289. WEISS, Bernhard.

Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff in seinen Grundzügen untersucht. Berlin, 1862.

290. WEIZSAECKER, C. H. von.

Die johanneische Logoslehre, mit besondrer Berücksichtigung der Schrift: 'Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff von Dr. B. Weiss, 1862.' *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1862, pp. 619–708.

Against Weiss.

291. NOLTE,

Theologische Quartalschrift. Tübingen, 1862, p. 464 ff.

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292. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

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293. HILGENFELD, A.

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Halle, 1863.

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Jesu Weheruf über Jerusalem und die σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ. Matt. xxiii. 34–39; Lu. xi. 49–51; xiii. 34 f. Ein Beitrag zur johanneischen Frage. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1863, pp. 84–93.

295. BAUR, Ferdinand Christian.
Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. 3d edit.; *see*
above, 215.
Gospel of John, pp. 146–174.
296. SCHWALB (Maurice?).
Notes sur l'évangile de Jean. *Revue de Théologie* (Colani).
Strasburg, 1863, pp. 113–149, and 249–279.
297. MEYBOOM, Ludwig Suson Petrus.
De Offenbaring, het laatste boek des Nieuwen Testaments, etc.
Amsterdam, 1863, p. 309.
298. OOSTERZEE, Johannes Jacobus van.
Het Leven van Jesus.
Utrecht, 1863, 2d edit. vol. i. pp. 127–156.
299. HENGSTENBERG, Ernst Wilhelm.
Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes erläutert.
Vol. iii. Berlin, 1863, pp. 359–409, especially 398–403.
300. BRUECKNER, Benno Bruno.
5th edit. of De Wette's Commentary; *see* above, 200.
301. MACKAY, Robert William.
The Tübingen School and its Antecedents.
London, 1863, pp. 258–311.
302. EICHTHAL, Gustave d'.
Les Évangiles. 1re Partie, Examen critique et comparative
de trois premiers évangiles. 2 vols.
Against the authenticity. (Second part published ?)
- 302a. KNOES, Anders Erik.
Om äktheten och trovärdigheten af de fyra kanoniska evan-
gelierna med hänsigt till den mytiska åsigten af evangeliska
historien. Upsala, 1863. John's gospel, pp. 132–172.
- 302b. KNOES, A. E.
Bibliska Isagogiken.
Upsala, 1863 (vol. i. of his works). John's gospel, pp.
109–115.
- 302c. EIRIKSSON, M.
Er Johannes-Evangeliet et apostolisk och ägte Evangelium och

er dets Lære om Guds menneskevorden en sand och christelig
Lære? En religiös-dogmatisk, historisk-kritisk Undersogelse.
Copenhagen, 1863, 8vo, pp. 510.

303. DE GROOT, P. Hofstede.

The Antiquity and Authenticity of John's Gospel according to
External Witnesses before the Middle of the Second Century.

Waarheid in Liefde, 1863, p. 593 ff.

304.

The Most Ancient Traditions on our Four Gospels. *Revue
Chrétienne*. Paris, 1863, December 15.

305. FREYTAG, Gustav Adolf.

Die Symphonie der Evangelien.

Distinguishes, as Weisse does, between genuine and not
genuine parts.

306. MARTINEAU, James.

Review of Renan's Life of Jesus. *National Review*, 1863,
October.

307. BAEUMLEIN, Wilhelm.

Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes.

Stuttgart, 1863.

308. ABERLE, Moriz.

Theologische Quartalschrift, 1863, p. 437 ff.

308a. 'CHRÉTIEN, Un.'

Explication de l'Évangile selon St. Jean, contenant une preface,
une introduction qui traite de toutes les questions concer-
nant l'authenticité du livre, une traduction nouvelle, suivie
de l'exposition continue du texte et de notes, et un appen-
dice, des études, des remarques theologiques et critiques, par
Un Chrétien. Premier livraison, Paris, 1863.

Reviewed by 'T.' in *Le Chrétien Évangélique*, Lausanne, 1863,
pp. 67b-114b. See below, 309.

1864.

309. ASTIÉ, Jean Frédéric.

Explication de l'Évangile selon Saint Jean. Paris, 1864.

For authenticity. 3 vols. 8vo. The first two vols. were
simply marked 'By a Christian;' see above, 308a.

310. RÉVILLE, Albert.

La Vie de Jésus de M. Renan devant les orthodoxies et devant la critique. Paris, 1864, p. 34.

311. FISHER, George Park.

The Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Andover, 1864, April.

Reprinted with additions in his *Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, New York, 1866, pp. 33-152.

312. STRAUSS, David Friedrich.

Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet. Leipzig, 1864.

See pp. 62-80, 90-114, 137-145, 198-204, 358-368, 470-486, 496-513, 547-559, 591-596.

313. SCHOLTEN, Johannes Heinrich.

Het Evangelie naar Johannes. Leyden, (1864) 1865. Supplement in 1866.
French translation by RÉVILLE, A., in the *Revue de Théologie*. Strasbourg, 1864-1866.
German translation by LANG, H., *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. Berlin, 1867.

314. NICOLAS, Michel.

Études critiques sur la Bible. N. T., Paris, 1864, pp. 127-221.

The gospel written by a pupil of John's—probably the chief elder of the Ephesian church, perhaps the presbyter John—towards the end of the first century.

315. GODET, Frédéric.

Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Saint Jean. Vol. i. Paris, (1863) 1864.
„ ii. 1865.
German translation by WUNDERLICH, E. R. Hannover, 1869.

316. SCHENKEL, Daniel.

Das Charakterbild Jesu. Ein biblischer Versuch. Wiesbaden, 1864. Gospel of John, pp. 23-35, 348-364.
3d edit. pp. 17-26, 246-258.

The gospel arose 110–120, under Johannean influence, and was coloured speculatively by the influence of the growing Gnosticism.
4th edit. 1873.

317. ABERLE, Moriz.

Beiträge zur neutestamentlichen Einleitung. I. Ein direktes Zeugniß des Papias für das Johannisevangelium. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1864, i. p. 3 ff.

According to a Latin citation, of the ninth century, from Papias, John dictated his gospel to Papias, against the Judaizing tendency of Cerinthus.

Hilgenfeld, *see* below, 335, calls Aberle's criticism a 'mixed marriage of the most extreme conservatism and the most extreme partisan criticism (Tendenz-Kritik).'

318. WEIZSAECKER, C. H. von.

Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung.

Gotha, 1864. Gospel of John, I. iii. pp. 220–302.

'It may have been written by a pupil under his direction, or composed in the Church after his discourses or notes,' p. 298.

For review, *see* Hilgenfeld, below, 336.

319. REUSS, E.

Die Geschichte d. heil. Schriften d. N. T. 4th edit. ; *see* above, 207.

320. BONIFAS, J.

Sur l'humanité de Jésus-Christ selon l'Évangile de Saint Jean. *Revue Chrétienne (Bulletin Théologique)*, Paris, 1864, December.

321. LEWIS, Tayler.

The Regula Fidei ; or the Gospel of John. *American Presbyterian and Theological Review*, vol. ii. pp. 46–63.

New York, 1864.

322.

Recent Literature on the Gospels. *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 1864, January.

323.

The Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 1864, April.

1865.

324. BISPING, August.

Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte. Erklärung des Evangeliums nach Johannes.
Münster, 1865.

325. TISCHENDORF, L. F. C. von.

Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?

Leipzig, 1865. 4th edit. 1866.

English translation : *When were our Gospels written?*
London, 1866; New York, 1867; see also below, 338.
For Hilgenfeld's review, see below, 337.

326. THENIUS, Otto.

Das Evangelium der Evangelien. Ein offenes Sendschreiben an David Friedrich Strauss zu Heilbronn, in Beziehung auf dessen Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet.

Leipzig, 1865, pp. 70.

A letter to David Friedrich Strauss, opposing him, and defending the genuineness and the historical character of the gospel of John.

327. LOMAN, A. D.

Bijdragen ter Einleiding op de Johanneische Schriften des N. T. 1ste Stuk. Het getuigenis aangaande Johannes in het fragment van Muratori.
Amsterdam, 1865.

328. GODET, Frédéric.

Examen des principales questions critiques soulevées de nos jours au sujet du quatrième évangile.

Paris, 1865, 8vo, ff. 3, pp. 96.

Reprint of appendix to *Commentary*; see above, 315.
German translation : *Prüfung der wichtigsten Streitfragen*, u.s.w. Zürich, 1866.

329. Row, Charles Adolphus.

Historical Character of the Gospels tested, etc. *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1865, October, and 1866, July.

330. RAYROUX, E. H.

(French dissertation on the Genuineness of John's Gospel, 1865.)

331. ZOECKLER, Otto.

Die Evangelien-Kritik, u.s.w. Darmstadt, 1865. See p. 33.

332.

Modern Criticism on St. John's Gospel. *London Quarterly Review* (Wesleyan).
London, 1865, July.

333. EWALD, Heinrich.

Ueber die neuesten zweifel an der vollen ächtheit des Johannes-evangeliums. *Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft* (xii. 2),
1865, pp. 212–224.

334. HASE, K. A.

Leben Jesu. 5th edit. ; *see above*, 93.

335. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Die neueste Tübingische Tendenz-Kritik beleuchtet. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (1864, pp. 425–448 on the synoptists), 1865, pp. 76–102.

On and against Aberle ; *see above*, 317.

336. HILGENFELD, A.

Review of Weizsäcker ; *see above*, 318. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1865, pp. 196–212.

337. HILGENFELD, A.

Constantin Tischendorf als defensor fidei. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1865, pp. 329–343.

‘I acknowledged long ago that Justin used the three first gospels, and I even granted the possibility of his having used John's gospel.’ ‘Yet the number four as that of the canonical gospels is not laid down clearly and sharply in him,’ p. 336.

1866.

338. TISCHENDORF, L. F. C. von.

Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst? 4th edit. much enlarged.
Leipzig, 1866 ; *see above*, 325.

English translation by GAGE, W. L. : *Origin of the Four Gospels*.
Boston, American Tract Society, 1868.

This translation is atrocious. *See* Professor Ezra Abbot's pamphlet on Tischendorf, pp. 16, 17, footnote (reprinted from *The Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine*, March 1875).

French translation : *Quand est ce que nos Évangiles ont été composés?*, 2d edit. 1866. Reviewed by CLEMENT, R., in *Le Chrétien Évangélique*, Lausanne, 1868, pp. 193–199.

339. FISHER, George Park.
Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity, chap. ii.
The Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 33–152.
 New York, 1866. *See above*, 311.
340. LANG, Heinrich.
Zeitstimmen der reformirten Kirche der Schweiz, 1866, Nr. 12.
 Against Godet.
341. HASE, Carl Alfred.
Vom Evangelium des Johannis. Eine Rede an die Gemeinde.
 Leipzig, 1866.
 The gospel the product of the later mental development of
 the apostle, from the last ten years of the first century.
342. GRASSART, Thom.
 (French dissertation on the Genuineness of John's gospel.)
343. STEINMEYER, F. L.
Die Wunderthaten des Herrn in Bezug auf die neueste Kritik.
 Berlin, vol. i. 1866 ; the raising of Lazarus, pp. 197–210.
344. UHLHORN, Gerhard.
Vorträge über die modernen Darstellungen des Lebens Jesu.
 3d edit. Hanover, 1866 ; lecture iii. pp. 69–103. English
 translation, Boston, 1868.
345. RIGGENBACH, Christoph Johannes.
Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis neu untersucht.
Nebst einem Anhang über die Mosaische Stiftshütte. Academi-
misches Programm. Basel, 1866.
 With reference to Volkmar. Reviewed by L. Th. in *Le*
Chrétien Évangélique, Lausanne, 1867, pp. 228–229.
346. ZAHN, Theodor.
Papias von Hierapolis, seine geschichtliche Stellung, sein Werk
und sein Zeugniß über die Evangelien. Studien und Kritiken,
 1866, pp. 649–696.
 Papias, the disciple of the apostle John, knew the four
 canonical gospels. *See addition below*, 368.
347. BLEEK, Friedrich.
Einleitung in das Neue Testament. 2d edit.—*see above*, 288—
 pp. 141 ff., 179 ff., 296 ff.

348. VOLKMAR, Gustav.
Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien nach den Urkunden, laut
den neuern Entdeckungen und Verhandlungen.
Zürich, 1866. Gospel of John (vii.), pp. 91–110.
Against Tischendorf.
- 348a. S. T. B.
The Gospel Question. I. The Fourth Gospel. *Theological
Review* (London), April 1866, vol. iii. pp. 264–295.
Against the genuineness.
349. PAUL, Ludwig.
Ueber die Zeit des Abendmahls nach Johannes. *Studien und
Kritiken*, 1866, pp. 362–374.
John makes the last meal a passover, as the synoptists do.
350. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Ein Vademecum für Herrn Pfarrer Dr. Paul. *Zeitschrift für
wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1866, pp. 118–122.
Against Paul's article above.
351. WEISS, Bernhard.
Review of Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen*; see above, 318.
Studien und Kritiken, 1866, p. 137 ff.

HOLTZMANN.

352. HOLTZMANN, Heinrich Julius.
In Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. viii. 1866, p. 56 ff.
Gives history of the criticism.
353. RÉVILLE, Albert.
La Question des Évangiles. First article, *Revue de Deux
Mondes*, 1866, May 1.
354. PRESSENSÉ, Edmund de.
Jésus Christ, son temps, sa vie, etc.
3d edit. Paris, 1866, pp. 214–251. German translation: *Jesus
Christ*, u.s.w., pp. 159–188. English translation, London,
1866.
For the genuineness.

355. SABATIÉ, Louis Auguste.
 Essai sur les Sources de la Vie de Jésus, les trois premiers évangiles et le quatrième. Paris, 1866.
 Treats especially of John's gospel. For the genuineness. Reviewed by BOST, Jean Augustin, in *Le Chrétien Évangélique*, Lausanne, 1866, pp. 630, 631.
356. MOMBERT, Jacob Isidor.
 Origin of the Gospels. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Andover, 1866, October.
 Against Strauss. Also marked *Bib. Sacr.* vols. xxii. pp. 353-384, xxiii. pp. 529-564.
357. GRAF, E.
 The Authentic Features and especially the Portraits of Character of the Fourth Gospel. *Der Beweis des Glaubens*. Gütersloh, 1866 (vol. i.), pp. 435-502.
358. ZOECKLER, O.
 On the Importance of Miracles in Nature and History. *Der Beweis des Glaubens*. Gütersloh, 1866 (vol. ii.), pp. 65-85.
359. DE GROOT, P. Hofstede.
 A Witness of the Longest-lived Apostle as the First Witness of the Books of the New Testament, together with other Witnesses thereon before the year 138. *Waarheid in Liefde*, p. 449 ff.
360. EWALD, Heinrich.
Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1866, p. 913 ff.
361. CRAMER, J.
 Is het 4de evangelie een historisch drama? *Bijdragen op het gebied van godgeleerdheid en wijsbegripte*. Deel i. Stuk 4, 1866.
 First article. See 363.
- 361a. JONKER, H.
 Het Evangelie van Johannes. Bedenkingen tegen Scholten's kritisch-historisch Onderzoek. First part about August 1866; second about December 1866. Perhaps dated 1867.
- 1867.
362. OVERBECK, Franz.
 Ueber zwei neue Ansichten von Zeugnissen des Papias für die Apostelgeschichte und das vierte Evangelium. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1867, pp. 35-74.

Against Zahn's *Papias von Hierapolis*, see above, 346, and against Tischendorf's *Wann wurden uns Ev. verfasst?* see above, 338. Holds that Zeller's *Die äusseren Zeugnisse*, etc.—see above, 151—is still in the main untouched.

363. CRAMER, J.

Is het 4de evangelie een historisch drama? *Bijdragen op het gebied van godgeleerdheid en wijsbegeerte*.

Rotterdam, 1867, p. 204 ff. Second article. See 361.

364. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Herr Dr. Riggenbach und das Johannis Evangelium. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1867, pp. 179–197 (see p. 83 ff. against Tischendorf).

364a. RUMPF.

Examen des prétendus découvertes de M. Tischendorf. *Revue de Théologie*, Strasburg, 1867, p. 1 ff. Attacks 338, above.

365. TISCHENDORF, L. F. C. von.

L'Authenticité de nos quatre évangiles maintenue.

Bulletin Théologique, Paris, 1867, pp. 214–230.

Reply to 364a, above.

366. KEIM, Theodor.

Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesamtleben seines Volkes frei untersucht und ausführlich erzählt.

Bd. i. Der Rüsttag, Zürich, 1867. The gospel of John, pp. 103–172.

The gospel written by a Jewish Christian, of Asia Minor probably, and published in the beginning of the second century under the name of the apostle John, p. 168. Gives the time as 110–115. John not in Ephesus at all.

Reviewed by EWALD, H., *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, St. 41, 1867, Oct. pp. 1601–1616.

367. STOWE, Calvin Ellis.

Origin and History of the Books of the Bible. Part II. The New Testament. Hartford, 1867.

368. ZAHN, Theodor.

Nachträgliche Bemerkungen zu dem Aufsatz über 'Papias von Hierapolis.' See above, 346. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1867, pp. 539–542.

Against Hilgenfeld and Nolte; written October 1866.

369. TAYLER, John James.

An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel, especially in its Relation to the Three First.

London, 1867.

Tübingen School. The author was the presbyter John, who wrote it in the first half of the second century.

2d edit. 1870. See below, 371.

370. MILLIGAN, William.

The Easter Controversies of the Second Century in their Relation to the Gospel of John. *Contemporary Review*, 1867, September.

371. MILLIGAN, William.

John the Presbyter. *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1867, October.

The presbyter and the apostle John identical.

372. GRAU, Rudolf Friedrich.

Ueber das eigenthümliche Wesen des johanneischen Evangeliums und seine Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. Ein Vortrag. Gütersloh, 1867.

Reprint from the monthly *Der Beweis des Glaubens*.

373. HENGSTENBERG, E. W.

Das Evangelium des heil. Johannes, 2d edit. ; see above, 299.

374. RENAN, Ernest.

Vie de Jésus. 13th edit., revised and enlarged.

Paris, 1867. See pp. x. ff., lviii. ff., and 477-541.

The latter pages form an appendix : De l'usage qu'il convient de faire du quatrième Évangile en écrivant la vie de Jésus.

Review : Weizsäcker, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1868, pp. 521-523.

German 3d edit. : *Das Leben Jesu*.

Leipzig, 1870. See pp. 383-439.

375. RAUWENHOFF, Ludwig Wilhelm Ernst.

Aanteekening over zekeren Theodotus door Prof. Hofstede de Groot aangevoerd als een getuige van de oudheid van het 4de evangelie uit het midden der 2de eeuw. *Theologische Tijdschrift*. Leiden, 1867, p. 338 f.

376. TOBLER, Johann Rudolf.

Das Evangelium Johannis nach dem Grundtext (Codex Sinaiticus) getreu wiedergegeben. Ein historisch-kritischer Versuch. Schaffhausen, 1867.

Cuts out and puts together the alleged original. *See* his book above, 254.

377. GRAF, E.

Die authentischen Züge und insbesondere die Charaktergemälde des vierten Evangeliums. *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1867, Supplement (?). *See* above, 357.

378. OOSTERZEE, Johannes Jacobus van.

Das Johannesevangelium. Four lectures. Against Scholten. German edition, 1867. English edition, *see* below, 416a.

379. SCHOLTEN, Johannes Heinrich.

Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, historisch untersucht (De oudste getuigenissen, etc.). Translated into German by MANCHOT, Carl.

Bremen, 1867.

Against the genuineness.

Reviewed by (Ko.), in *Zeitschrift f. d. gesammte luther. Theol. u. Kir.*, 1869, p. 299 f.

380. MATTHES, J. C.

De ouderdom van het Johannes-evangelie, volgens de uitwendige getuigenissen. Leyden, 1867.

Against the genuineness. Against Hofstede de Groot. Pages 127–139 on Justin. He closes thus: 'It is certain that John borrowed from Justin. The Logos gospel arose long after 147 A.D.'

381. MATTHES, J. C.

Leidner theol. Zeitschrift, p. 521 ff.

382. NEALE, Edward Vansittart.

The Doctrine of the Logos. *Theological Review*.

London, October 1867, vol. iv. pp. 445–472.

Against the genuineness.

383. LUTHARDT, Christoph Ernst.

Apologetische Vorträge über die Grundwahrheiten des Christenthums.

Die Evangelien, pp. 210–225. 5th edit. Leipzig, 1867.

1868.

384. ABBOT, Ezra.

The Literature of the Gospel of John, in the American edition of Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

New York (part xiii., as issued 1868), pp. 1437-1439.

See also, on page 1430 f. of the same work, a valuable note by the same author.

The above literature, no less than the kindness of its author, has been a great help to the translator.

385. FISHER, George Park.

Genuineness of the Gospel of John, in the American edition of Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

New York (part xiii., 1868), pp. 1431-1437.

385a. HIGGINSON, Edward.

On the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. *Theological Review*.

London, April 1868, vol. v. pp. 189-205.

386. —

Was John the Author of the Fourth Gospel? By a Layman.
London, 1868.

386a. MADGE, Thomas.

Reasons for believing in the Genuineness of John's Gospel, with some notice of Rev. J. J. Tayler's publication on the Fourth Gospel.
London, 1868.

Tayler's book, see above, 369.

387. ROW, Charles Adolphus.

Jesus of the Evangelists: His Historical Character vindicated.
London, 1868, pp. 223 ff., 391 ff.

388. CLARK, James Freeman.

The Fourth Gospel and its Author. *Christian Examiner*, 1868, January.

389. SPAETH, H.

Nathanael, ein Beitrag zum Verständniss der Composition des Logos-Evangeliums. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1868, pp. 168-213 and 309-343.

'John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, and Nathanael are one

and the same person. So Nathanael is a name made up by the author. He meant by it to keep the voucher for his gospel half anonymous,' p. 177.

See *Leidner theol. Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 653.

390. MAERKER,

Uebereinstimmung der Evangelien des Matthæus und Johannes.
1868.

Apologetical.

391. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Das Johannes-Evangelium und die neuesten Schriften von Hofstede de Groot, Keim, und Scholten. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1868, pp. 213–231.

392. HILGENFELD, A.

Das Johannes-Evangelium nicht interpolirt. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1868, pp. 434–455.

393. DAVIDSON, Samuel.

An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, Critical, Exegetical, and Theological.

London, 1868. Gospel of John, vol. ii. pp. 323–468.

Against the genuineness. Disputes Justin's acquaintance with John's gospel, pp. 374–388.

393a. TAYLER, John James.

Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament. *Theological Review*.

London, July 1868, vol. v. pp. 373–401. Pp. 390–400 criticise Higginson; see above, 385a.

Against the genuineness. Signed 'J. J. T.'

394. MILLIGAN, William.

The Last Supper of the Lord, as related in the three earlier Evangelists and in St. John. Two articles. *Contemporary Review*, August and November 1868.

395. DIEHL, J. C.

15 Nisan ook volgens Johannes de sterfdag van Jezus of prøve ter oplossing van het hoofdbezwaar tegen de echtheid van het vierde evangelie. Tiel, 1868.

Reviewed by KUENER, A., *Theologische Tijdschrift*, 1869, p. 267.

396. GRAU, Rudolf Friedrich.
 Zur Einführung in das Schriftthum neuen Testaments.
 Stuttgart, 1868, pp. 183-234.
 On the peculiar nature of John's gospel, etc.
397. STEMLER, G. W.
 Het Evangelie van Johannes. Zijne Echtheid, zijn historisch
 Karakter en Leerbegrip. 2 dln. Amsterdam, 1868.
 For the genuineness.
398. DERAMEY, J. P.
 Défense du quatrième évangile, étude historique et critique de
 l'évangile selon St. Jean. Paris, 1868.
 For the genuineness.
399. DE GROOT, P. Hofstede.
 Basilides am Ausgange des apostolischen Zeitalters als erster
 Zeuge für Alter und Autorität neutestamentlicher Schriften.
 Insbesondere des Johannesevangeliums in Verbindung mit
 andern Zeugen bis zur Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts.
 (1867.) German edition, Leipzig, 1868.
 For the genuineness.
400. STEITZ, Georg Eduard.
 Die Tradition von der Wirksamkeit des Apostels Johannes in
 Ephesus. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, p. 487 ff.
401. KEIM, Theodor.
 Der Apostel Kleinasiens. *Protestantische Kirchen-Zeitung*, 1868,
 Nr. 23, p. 535 ff.
 Against Steitz.
402. RIGGENBACH, Christoph Johannes.
 Johannes der Apostel und der Presbyter. *Jahrbücher für
 deutsche Theologie*, 1868, pp. 319-334.
 The presbyter and the apostle John identical.
403. BRAUN, Eugen.
 Jesus von Nazareth. Nach Richard's von der Alm theolo-
 gischen Briefen an die Gebildeten der deutschen Nation.
 Leipzig, 1868.

John's gospel, pp. 20–22. Greek too good ; spirit too Pauline ; Jesus too unlike synoptic one ; laid in different region from synoptic account : hence written, not by companion of Jesus, but 'by an unknown Christian teacher of Greek descent in Asia Minor, about 150 A.D.,' pp. 20, 21.

404. EBRARD, J. H. A.

Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte, 3d edit. 1868, pp. 1114–1226. *See above*, 134.

405. GUERICKE, H. E. F.

Neutestamentliche Isagogik, 3d edit. 1868, pp. 188–225. *See above*, 140.

406. WEIZSÄCKER, Carl Heinrich von.

Review of Volkmar, *Ursprung*, etc., *see above*, 348.

„ Riggensbach, *Zeugnisse*, „ 345.

„ Scholten, *Evang. n. Joh.*, „ 313.

„ Keim, *Gesch. Jesu v. N.*, „ 366.

„ Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 13th ed. „ 374.

„ De Groot, *Basilides*, etc., „ 399.

Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 1868, pp. 510–526.

407. LANGE, J. P.

Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Bibel-Werk, 4ter Theil. 3d edit. 1868. *See above*, 274.

408. LANGEN, Joseph.

Grundriss der Einleitung in das Neue Testament.

Freiburg im Breisgau, 1868.

Gospel of John, I. v. §§ 28–34, pp. 60–83.

409. WITTICHEN, Carl.

Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge. Eine kritische Untersuchung.

Elberfeld, 1868 (paper cover dated 1869).

This gospel written by the apostle John, between 70 and 80, in Syria, p. 96. Written against the Ebionists, p. 99. The presbyter John wrote the Revelation, p. 112. The apostle John was not in Ephesus, but the presbyter was, p. 103. *See below*, PFLEIDERER, 411 ; and WEIZSÄCKER, 437.

1869.

- 409a. JEVON, William.

Theol. Rev. Apr. 1869, vi. pp. 148-170; *see* pp. 158-164.

410. HOLTZMANN, Heinrich Julius.

Die schriftstellerische Verhältniss des Johannes zu den Synoptikern. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1869, pp. 62-85, 155-178, and 446-456.

411. PFLEIDERER, Otto.

Beleuchtung der neuesten Johannes Hypothese. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1869, pp. 394-421.

Against Wittichen; *see* above, 409. The gospel later than the epistles. The epistles by another author, and against the Gnosticism of Basilides.

412. MEYER, H. A. W.

Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch ü. d. Evang. d. Johannes.

5th edit. Göttingen, 1869.

English edition, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, vol. i. 1874; vol. ii. now (1875) in press.

413. HOLTZMANN, H. J.

Evangelium nach Johannes. Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. ii. (1869) pp. 221-234.

414. LIPSIVS, Richard Adelbert.

Gnosis. Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. ii. (1869) pp. 502-504.

415. DELITZSCH, Franz.

Ueber drei wenig beobachtete Seiten des Johannes-Evangeliums. *Allgemeine Evangelisch-lutherische Kirchen-Zeitung*, 1869, Nr. 37, 38.

416. RIEMENS, Johannes.

De Beteekenis van den Ersten Brief van Johannes in het historisch-kritisch Onderzoek naar den Oorsprong van het Vierde Evangelie. Akademisch proefschrift . . . ter verkrijging van den graad van Doctor in de Godgeleerdheid, aan de Hoogeschool te Utrecht. Utrecht, 1869.

The first epistle 'gives weighty testimony for the authenticity of the gospel,' p. 203.

416a. HURST, John Fletcher.

English translation of Oosterzee, *John's Gospel; Apologetical Lectures*. See above, 378. This translation is mentioned separately because it contains a literature as an appendix, from which the present translator drew several titles.

417. GODET, Frédéric.

Commentar zu dem Evangelium Johannis. German edit. translated by WUNDERLICH, E. R., Hannover, 1869; see above, 315.

417a. ROWLAND, David.

The Evidence from Tradition and from the Fathers applied in Support of the Apostolic Origin of the Fourth Gospel.

London, 1869, 8vo, ff. 2, p. 58.

Unimportant.

1870.

418. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Die neuesten Leistungen in der Evangelien Forschung. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1870, pp. 151–188.

The time of the passion according to John, p. 167 ff. John's gospel and the passover controversy, p. 171 ff.

419. HILGENFELD, A.

Der Gnosticismus und das Neue Testament. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1870, pp. 233–275, especially 263 ff.

John's gospel written between 135–140 in Asia Minor, under the positive influence of the dualistic Gnosticism.

420. ORR, James.

The Authenticity of St. John's Gospel deduced from Internal Evidence. London, 1870.

421. STROEHLIN,

Le Montanisme.

Against the residence at Ephesus.

422. RENAN, Ernest.

Das Leben Jesu. 3d German edit.

Leipzig, 1870. See pp. 383–439.

An appendix on the fourth gospel makes the account his-

torical and the discourses not historical. About the same as Weizsäcker (*see above*, 406), but independent of him.

423. WOLFF, Max.

Das Evangelium Johannis in seiner Bedeutung für Wissenschaft und Glauben.

1870.

Against the genuineness.

424. SCHUERER, Emil.

Die Passahstreitigkeiten des 2. Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift f. d. historisch Theologie*, 1870, pp. 182-284.

424a. KIRCHNER, Moritz.

Die judische Passahfeier und Jesu letztes Mahl. . . . Abhandlung zum Programm des Königl. Gymnasiums und der Realschule zu Duisburg, Herbst 1870. Gotha, 1870.

The last supper was the passover in John as well as in the synoptists, and the gospels agree.

425. LEATHES, Stanley.

The Witness of St. John to Christ.

1870.

426. DAVIDSON, Samuel.

Irenæus, Polycarp, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in relation to the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth Gospel and its Advocates. *Theological Review*.

London, July 1870, vol. vii. pp. 297-331.

Against the genuineness.

426a. TAYLER, J. J.

An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel, etc. 2d edit. London, 1870 ; *see above*, 369.

427. GESS, Wolfgang Friedrich.

Christi Person und Werk nach Christi Selbstzeugniss und den Zeugnissen der Apostel. [Old book wrought over.] 1te Abtheilung. Basel, 1870.

John's gospel, pp. 299-338. For the genuineness.

American edit. of the original work, translated by REUBELT, J. A., *The Scripture Doctrine of the Person of Christ*.

Andover, 1870.

428. CASSEL, Paulus.

Das Evangelium der Söhne Zebedäi (das vierte Evangelium).
Eine Abhandlung. Berlin, 1870.

An essay packed with all manner of learned references. The author thinks that this gospel was the product of the two brothers James and John. The first twenty chapters are based on sketches by James, p. 51. John wrote the twenty-first chapter long after, p. 54.

429. PFEIFFER, K.

Ueber die Johanneischen Schriften mit besonderen Beziehung
auf die Frage nach dem Verfasser. Vier Vorträge.
St. Gallen, 1870.

For the genuineness.

430. TOBLER, Johannes Rudolf.

Grundzüge der evangelischen Geschichte dargestellt.
Zürich, 1870.

On pp. 35–49 is an appendix : ‘An attempt to restore the remains of the original book, which are still preserved in our fourth gospel.’

A specimen of what some would make of the gospel. Tobler finds in the rubbage of the 866 verses (Tischendorf: Eng. Version, has 879) of the fourth gospel just 81 verses and bits of verses from the original book. These he gives in the Greek Sinaitic text, because he cannot get the Hebrew, which was still more thoroughly original. What that original book was he does not know. Perhaps something from John, perhaps not; perhaps a fragment of the old gospels of the Hebrews; perhaps a fragment of Tatian's *Diatessaron*; or perhaps anything else you please to call it. He quotes on p. 35, but neglects, the advice of a critic, that he should turn his mind ‘to some object less valuable than the Scriptures.’

431. GESCHWIND,

Theologische Studien, pp. 46–112. Das Evangelium Johannis in
seiner historischen Beglaubigung.

Treats of the external testimony. For the genuineness.

1871.

432. HOENIG, Wilhelm.

Die Construction des vierten Evangeliums. *Zeitschrift für
wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1871, pp. 535–566.

It is altogether ruled, and each thing is determined, *à priori*,
by a plan with the number three, and so it is not historical.

433. HEINRICI, Georg.

Die valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift. Eine Studie. Berlin, 1871.

Reviewed by HOLTZMANN, H. J., *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1872, pp. 149-154.

434. KRENKEL, Max.

Der Apostel Johannes. Berlin, 1871.

Appendix, p. 113 ff. The Revelation written by John, the gospel not. 'The Revelation the only, and therefore the most valuable, written monument of Jewish Christianity proceeding from the circle of Jesus' immediate disciples,' p. 130. Chapter xxi. was not written before 180, p. 5. Holds, against Keim, that the apostle John did reside at Ephesus, pp. 133-178.

435. LANG, Heinrich.

Zeitstimmen der reformirten Kirche der Schweiz, 1871, Nr. 24.

436. SCHOLTEN, J. H.

Het Apostel Johannes in Klein-Asië. Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek. Leyden, 1871.

German translation: SPIEGEL, Bernhard. Berlin, 1872.

John not in Asia Minor, and did not write the Revelation. The gospel is anti-Johannean. See addition below, 449.

437. WEIZSÄCKER, Carl Heinrich von.

Favourable review of Wittichen; see above, 409. *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1871, p. 563 f.

438. WEIZSÄCKER, C. H. von.

Reviews of Burger, *d. Evang. nach Joh.*, 1868; Meyer, 5th edit., *Ev. Joh.*, 1869; Baggesen, *d. Apost. Joh.*, 1869. *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1871, pp. 733-736.

439. HOLTZMANN, Heiprich Julius.

Barnabas und Johannes. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1871, pp. 336-351.

'The point is not to own that Barnabas failed to use John, but to explain this fact by the circumstance that John was written about 90-100, and Barnabas about 80.'

440. WITTICHEN, Carl.

Protestantische Kirchen-Zeitung, 1871, p. 795 f.

441. MILLIGAN, William.
The Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse. Two articles.
Contemporary Review, August and September 1871.
442. MILLIGAN, William.
Symbolism of St. John's Gospel. *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, October 1871.
443. ZIEGLER, Heinrich.
Irenæus der Bischof von Lyon. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungs-
geschichte der alt-Katholischen Kirche. Berlin, 1871
Against the residence at Ephesus.
- 443a. FUELLER, J. L.
Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte.
Basel, 1871.
John's gospel and the synoptists compared, pp. 195–207.
444. HUTTON, Richard Holt.
The Historical Problems of the Fourth Gospel. *Essays, Theological and Literary*.
London, 1871, vol. i. essay vi. pp. 144–226.
Defends elaborately and ably, against Baur, the historical
credibility of the fourth gospel.
445. HOLTZMANN, Heinrich Julius.
Johannes der Apostel; also, Johannes der Presbyter. *Schenkel's Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. iii. 1871, pp. 328–342 and 352–360.
446. VIGELIUS, Petrus Franciscus.
Historisch Kritisch Onderzoek naar den Schrijver van Joh. xxi.
Leyden, 1871.
The evangelist wrote chapter xxi., but the gospel is
sub-apostolic.

1872.

447. SCHAFF, Philip.
Lange's Commentary on the Gospel according to John, trans-
lated into English, revised, enlarged, and edited by Philip
Schaff. New York, 1872.
This is nearly twice as large as the original work.
On genuineness of the gospel, *see* the special introduction,
pp. i.–xiv.; also Lange's chapter thereon, much enlarged and

supplemented with reference to all the latest attacks. Dr. Schaff adds Schwab's epigram against the Tübingen hypothesis on the origin of the gospel :—

‘ Hat dieses Buch, das ewige Wahrheit ist,
Ein lügenschwanger Gnostiker geschrieben,
Denn hat Jahrtausend lange Jesus Christ
Den Teufel durch Beelzebub vertrieben.’

(‘ If this book, which is eternal truth, was written by a deceit-conceiving Gnostic, then Jesus Christ, for a thousand years, has cast out Satan by Beelzebub.’)

448. HILGENFELD, Adolf.

Petrus in Rom und Johannes in Kleinasien. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1872, pp. 349–383.

Against Scholten, *d. Apost. Joh. in Kleinas.*; see above, 436. The apostle John was in Asia Minor, at Ephesus, and wrote the Revelation, p. 383.

449. SCHOLTEN, J. H.

Naschrift ob de Verhandelinge over Johannes in Klein-Asië. *Theologische Tijdschrift*, 1872, pp. 325–330.

This was added to the German translation of this year; see Scholten above, 436. It was a reply to Hilgenfeld's criticism; see above, 448.

450. MEYER, H.

Les discours du quatrième Évangile, sont-ils des discours historique de Jésus? Étude critique. . . Thèse pour la licence présentée à la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban.

La Rochelle, 1872.

451. WEINGARTEN, Hermann.

Hertwig's Tabellen zur Einleitung ins Neue Testament, 4te in der Literatur ergänzte und zum Theil umgeänderte Ausgabe. Berlin, 1872. John's gospel, pp. 32–35.

‘ It is much more likely that the presbyter John at Ephesus is only a legendary character of Papias,’ p. 34.

452. SANDAY, William.

The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel. London, 1872.

For the genuineness.

453. On the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, with especial reference to the Objections recently urged against its Johannine Origin. *Brit. Quar. Rev.*, 1872, October, pp. 408–443. Able.

- 453a. ROSENIUS, M. G.
Inlednings-vetenskapen till den heliga Skrift, etc. Lund, 1872.
John's gospel, pp. 256–266 ; *see also* pp. 266–278.
454. HOLTZMANN, Heinrich Julius.
Protestantische Kirchen-Zeitung, 1872, Nr. 1–3, 16.
455. HOLTZMANN, Heinrich Julius.
Kritik der Epheser und Colosserbriefe auf Grund einer Analyse ihres Verwandschaftsverhältnisses. Leipzig, 1872.
See the present work of Professor Luthardt, pp. 119 f., 127 f., above.
456. HOLTZMANN, H. J.
Nathanael. Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, vol. iv. 1872, pp. 294–297.
Nathanael seems to be a symbol for Paulinism.
- 1873.
457. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Noch einmal Johannes in Kleinasien. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 102–111.
Answer to Scholten's reply to the article of 1872 ; *see* Scholten and Hilgenfeld above, 449, 448.
458. O. L.
Nathanael. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 96–102.
Nathanael stands for the later Paul.
459. LEUSCHNER, C.
Das Evangelium St. Johannis und seine neuesten Widersacher, Vorwort von Dr. Heinrich Eduard Schmieder.
Halle, 1873, 8vo, pp. vi. 136.
Against Keim and Scholten.
460. KEIM, Theodor.
Geschichte Jesu nach dem Ergebnisse heutiger Wissenschaft übersichtlich erzählt.
Gospel of John, pp. 39–45. This gospel was probably written about 130, p. 41. 2d ed. 1875 ; *see* pp. 377–389.

460a. PIERITZ, George Wildon.

The Gospels from the Rabbinical Point of View ; showing the Perfect Harmony between the Four Evangelists on the subject of the Lord's Last Supper.

Oxford and London, 1873.

461. SCHMIDTBORN, Ernst.

Ueber die Authentie des Johannes Evangeliums. Inaugural Dissertation der philosophischen Facultät zu Jena zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde. Jena, 1873.

Unimportant. Against the genuineness.

1874.

462. GRIMM, Karl Ludwig Wilibald.

Herakleons angebliches Zeugniß für des Apostels Johannes Martyrium. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1874, pp. 121-123.

Against the alleged martyrdom (thus Keim), and for John's residence at Ephesus.

463. MARTINEAU, James.

The Protestant Theory of Authority. *Old and New*.

Boston, 1874, June, July, August ; vol. ix. pp. 713-726 ; vol. x. pp. 47-58, 201-222.

The two last articles oppose the genuineness of the fourth gospel on external and internal grounds.

464. LUTHARDT, Christoph Ernst.

Die Eigenthümlichkeit der vier Evangelien. Leipzig, 1874.

Popular Lecture. Origin of John's gospel, *see* p. 19.

465. REUSS, Eduard.

Die Geschichte d. heil. Schr. des Neuen Testaments.

5th edit. Braunschweig, 1874 ; *see* above, 207.

Gospel and epistles of John, 1st part, §§ 213-229, pp. 217-238. Valuable literature.

Reviewed by LANGEN, Joseph : *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (Reusch), Bonn, 1875, 1st January, No. 1, pp. 1-3.

466.

Supernatural Religion. An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation. London, 1874.

On John's gospel, vol. ii. pp. 251–476. 'We have seen that, whilst there is not one particle of evidence during a century and a half after the events recorded in the fourth gospel that it was composed by the son of Zebedee, there is, on the contrary, the strongest reason for believing that he did not write it,' p. 474.

5th edit. vol. ii. pp. 251–492.

6th edit. revised, with 80 pp. of new preface.

466a. BEKE, Charles Tilson.

Jesus the Messiah ; being an Answer anticipatory to the work
Supernatural Religion. London, 1874.

The fourth gospel a conscious legend or fiction.

467. WEIFFENBACH, Wilhelm.

Das Papias-Fragment bei Eusebius H. E. III. xxxix. 3–4
eingehend exegetisch untersucht. Giessen, 1874.

'Extremely improbable that Papias believed in the composition of the fourth gospel by the apostle John, and in the residence of the son of Zebedee in Asia Minor,' p. 143.

Reviewed by Lipsius, *Jenaer Literatur-Zeitung*, 1874, Nr. 38, p. 585 f.; *Centralblatt*, No. 5 (1875 ?): by Ewald, *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 5 (1875 ?): by Loman, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Leiden, 1875, pp. 125–154.

468. BEYSCHLAG, Willibald.

Zur Johanneischen Frage. Erster Artikel. *Studien und Kritiken*,
1874, Heft 4, pp. 607–723.

Refutes the statements of the anti-John critics. See below,
481.

469. LEATHES, Stanley.

The Religion of the Christ ; its Historic and Literary Development considered as an Evidence of its Origin. London, 1874.

The fifth topic is 'The Christ of the Gospels.'

470. LUTHARDT, Christoph Ernst.

Der johanneische Ursprung des vierten Evangeliums.

Leipzig, 1874.

The German edition of the work in hand.

Reviewed by STAEHLIN, Adolf, in *Der Beweis des Glaubens*, Gütersloh, 1875, February, pp. 96–99; *Saturday Review*, 15th May 1875, p. 638; RIGGENBACH, *Kirchenfreund*, 1875, No. 3, pp. 38–42; see below, 471, 487.

English edit. Edinburgh, 1875 (the present work).

471. GRIMM, Karl Ludwig Wilibald.
 Review of Luthardt, *Der joh. Urspr. d. 4ten Ev.*; see 470.
Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1874, Nr. 49, December 5, (724)
 pp. 771, 772.
 For the genuineness.
472. FARRAR, Frederic William.
 The Life of Christ. 10th edition. London, 1874.
 See Excursus x. vol. ii. pp. 474-483, on the passover question.
 Review, see below, 476; also *The Quarterly Review*, January, 1875, pp. 177-206.
473. HAUSRATH, August.
 Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte. Theil iii. Die Zeit der
 Märtyrer und das nachapostolische Zeitalter.
 Heidelberg, 1874.
 On origin of John's gospel, see pp. 565-625.
 See also review of this by Holtzmann, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1874, Nr. 49, 5th December, p. 769.
474. KAHNIS, K. F. A.
 Dogmatik, 2d edit. 1874; see above, 280.
 See vol. i. pp. 165-172. 'We must with certainty declare John the author of the fourth gospel,' p. 170.
475. LIGHTFOOT, Joseph Barber.
 (Against the book *Supernatural Religion*; see above, 466.)
Contemporary Review, December, 1874. Perhaps too cutting.
476.
Westminster Review, 1874, October, pp. 515-518. Review of Farrar's *Life of Christ*.
 Unfavourable; against the genuineness of the fourth gospel.
 In a short reference to Gardiner's *Life of Christ*, on page 525 of the same review, the writer says of the fourth gospel, that 'nothing can justify its use as an authority of equal value with the synoptical gospel.'
- 1875.
477. (By the Author of *Supernatural Religion*.)
 A Reply to Professor Lightfoot's Article on *Supernatural Religion*; see above, 475. *The Fortnightly Review*, 1875, January 1, pp. 1-26.
 In reference to and against the genuineness of the fourth gospel.

478. LIGHTFOOT, Joseph Barber.
(Second article against *Supernatural Religion*, see above, 475.)
Contemporary Review, January 1875, pp. 169–188.
479. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament.
Leipzig, 1875.
John's gospel, pp. 695–739. Was written before 140 and after 132, p. 738.
480. HOLTZMANN, Heinrich Julius.
Hermas und Johannes. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 40–51.
John was later than Hermas, and worked up points made by Hermas.
This is partly against the German edition of the work in hand.
481. BEYSCHLAG, Willibald.
Zur Johanneischen Frage, 2ter Artikel; see above, 468.
Studien und Kritiken, 1875, pp. 235–287.
Answers objections of anti-John critics, dwelling chiefly on the alleged philosophical character of the gospel, and on the question of miracles.
482. F. R. C.
The Literary Character of the Fourth Gospel. *Frazer's Magazine*, 1875, March; N. S. xi. pp. 373–383.
483. BLEEK, Friedrich.
Einleitung in das Neue Testament. See above, 288. 3d edit.
by Mangold, Wilhelm (Professor at Bonn). Berlin, 1875.
484. ARNOLD, Matthew.
Review of Objections to Literature and Dogma, IV. *Contemporary Review*, 1875, March.
485. HILGENFELD, Adolf.
Papias von Hierapolis. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 231–270.
'Glancing back at the real Papias, we see that he did indeed when young hear the apostle John, but that, when he wrote his book, he knew nothing, or would not know anything, of a gospel of John,' p. 270.
486. GRIMM, Karl Ludwig Willibald.
Ueber Evangelium Joh. xxi. 22 f. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 270–278.

487. LANGEN, Joseph.
 Das Johannes Evangelium. *Theologisches Literatur-Blatt*
 (Reusch), Bonn, 1875, No. 5, 28th February, pp. 97-99.
 Review of Luthardt, *see* above, 470, and Weiffenbach, *see*
 above, 467.
488. BEYSCHLAG, Willibald.
 Zur Johanneischen Frage, Zweiter Artikel (Schluss). *Studien*
und Kritiken, 1875, pp. 413-479; *see* above, 481.
489. LOMAN, A. D.
 Het Getuigenis van Papias over Schrift en Overlevering.
Theologisch Tijdschrift. Leyden, 1875, pp. 125-154.
 On Weiffenbach, *see* above, 467. Pp. 153, 154 are an
 appendix written after receiving Hilgenfeld's *Einleitung*, *see*
 above, 479.
490. MANSEL, Henry Longueville.
 The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries.
 Edited by J. B. Lightfoot. London, 1875.
See lecture v. pp. 64-78, especially 74-76. St. John's
 gospel written to refute Cerinthus and other Gnostics. Lecture
 viii. pp. 110-138, Cerinthus opposed by St. John.
491. LUTHARDT, Christoph Ernst.
 Das johanneische Evangelium, etc. *See* above, 203.
 2d edit. vol. i. Nuremberg, 1875.
 A. summary of the present work given, pp. 223-250.

RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR LIST AND INDEX.

M'CLELLAN, John Brown, *The New Testament*, etc., London, 1875, pp. 473-494, *passim* quest. WESTCOTT, *Critical Scepticism*, *The Expositor*, March 1875, i. 211-237; *see* pp. 220-230. *Dubl. Rev.* May 1875, pp. 357-411, against 466, above. HILL, T. L., *Fraz. Mag.* May 1875; N. S. xi. 666 note, against 482, above. *Cont. Rev.* May 1875, LIGHTFOOT (wrote in an earlier number on the 'Ignatian Epistles'?) on Polycarp, and ARNOLD, Matthew, on John Question. EDERSHEIM, Alfred, *Fraz. Mag.* June 1875; N. S. xi. pp. 764-773, against 482, above: p. 802 of same number, note from 'F. R. C.' answering HILL's criticism in May No. HOLTZMANN, H. J., *Rev.* of 470, above, *Ztschr. f. wiss. Th.* 1875, pp. 442-452. (THOMA, Albrecht, *Justins literarisches Verhältniss zu Paulus und zum Johannes Evangelium*, *Ibid.* pp. 383-412, Paul not apostle in Justin's eyes.) HILGENFELD, A., *Rev.* of 2d ed. of 460, above, *Ibid.* pp. 452-463 (464). *Fraz. Mag.* 1875, July, The Debate as to the Fourth Gospel. GUERICKE, *Rev.* of 470, above, *Ztschr. f. d. ges. luth. Theol. u. Kir.* 1875 pp. 709, 710.

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